"EDUCATION—A debt due from present to future Generations."

~~Peabody Institute Library,~~
~~DANVERS, MASS.~~

Founded November 5th, 1866

CLASS BOOK VOL.

~~749~~ ~~D1~~

Accession No. 30920

PEABODY INSTIT'
LIBRARY
DANVERS, MASS.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/earlyamericancra0000wlal

Early American Craftsmen

PAUL REVERE
From the crayon portrait made by Fevret de Saint-Memin in 1804.

Early American Craftsmen

By

Walter A. Dyer

Author of "The Lure of the Antique," etc.

Being a Series of Sketches of the Lives of the more important Personalities in the Early Development of the Industrial Arts in America, together with sundry Facts and Photographs of Interest and Value to the Collector of Americana.

New York
The Century Company
1915

Copyright, 1915, by
THE CENTURY CO.

Published, October, 1915

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	The Vogue of Americana	5
II	Samuel McIntire, Master Carpenter	16
III	The Exquisite Furniture of Duncan Phyfe	43
IV	American Windsor Chairs	70
V	The Clockmakers of Connecticut	104
VI	The Willards and Their Clocks	133
VII	Baron Stiegel and His Glassware	162
VIII	The Versatile Paul Revere	191
IX	Other American Silversmiths	219
X	American Pewterers and Brasiers	252
XI	Early American Potters	273
XII	The Potters of Bennington	298
XIII	American Furniture Makers	320
XIV	Other Crafts and Craftsmen	348
	Bibliography	381
	Index	385

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

is here rendered to the many friends and acquaintances who assisted me in the gathering of this material, to the authors of the various works consulted, and to the publishers of the magazines in which some of these chapters first appeared. Chapters II, III, V, and VII were published in *The House Beautiful;* Chapters IV and VI and portions of others were published in *Country Life in America;* and part of Chapter XIII in *Good Furniture.*

W. A. D.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

PAUL REVERE From the crayon portrait made by Fevret de Saint-Mémin in 1804 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

The new way of displaying museum collections is not behind glass doors but in a reconstructed environment. Lower hall of the Colonial house containing the Pendleton Collection, Providence, R. I. 4

A corner in one of the rooms at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, containing the Bolles Collection and other Americana 9

The old Assembly House, Salem, Mass., built in 1782, is fairly typical of the style of architecture employed by Samuel McIntire 17

Hall in the Nichols House, Salem, designed by McIntire. The picture includes the original carved gate-posts as well as a bit of fine woodwork 24

Coat-of-arms of Massachusetts, designed and carved in wood by McIntire. Now in the Essex Institute, Salem . . 28

McIntire's stairways and banisters are always interesting. Nichols house 28

Pediment from the old Custom House, Salem, carved by McIntire in 1805 and now owned by the Essex Institute . . 33

The famous Washington medallion that once adorned the McIntire archway, Washington Square, Salem . . . 33

Bust of Governor Winthrop carved in wood by Samuel McIntire for Rev. William Bentley in 1798 and now owned by the American Antiquarian Society 37

Eight-legged sofa of the Sheraton type, by Duncan Phyfe. Owned by R. T. Haines Halsey, Esq., New York . . 42

The long, three-support extension table in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 42

Phyfe sofa with cornucopia legs and lyre arms. Halsey Collection 42

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Phyfe extension table with two four-pillar supports, showing the fine acanthus-leaf carving. Halsey Collection . . 47

Folding card table with octagonal top and crossed lyre support. Halsey Collection 47

Phyfe music rack, Empire period. Owned by Mrs. Dwight M. Prouty, Boston 54

Phyfe stand, showing a favorite form of table top. Halsey Collection 54

One of the less common forms of Phyfe chair, with straight front legs and cane seat 59

Lyre-back chair, Halsey Collection. Similar to those in the Metropolitan Museum 59

A splendid example of medallion-back Phyfe side chair, owned by Mr. Halsey 66

Medallion-back armchair, showing a slight tendency toward the heavier type of design 66

At the left, hoop-back armchair with carved arms, New Jersey type; center, a good example of New England loop-back armchair; right, the later and less graceful development of the same, with the bamboo style of turning and the arms joined to the loop, not of the same piece. Bolles Collection 71

An unusually good pair of loop-back side chairs, owned by the author 71

Extension armchairs, Bolles Collection. At the left, an unusually tall hoop-back; center, fan-back or comb-back armchair, with scroll ears, New Jersey style; right, a more graceful form of the same with carved arms . . 78

At the left, a hoop-back armchair from Massachusetts, with plain arms, owned by the author; right, writing-chair in the Bolles Collection, like a low-back Windsor with comb-back extension 78

At the left, New England loop-back armchair, with comb-back extension, back braces, and bamboo turning; center, a very late and awkward development of the comb-back rocker; right, child's comb-back or fan-back armchair, New Jersey style. Bolles Collection 81

At the left, a good example of the fan-back side chair, New Jersey style; right, fan-back armchair, New Jersey style,

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

like a low-back Windsor with fan-back extension. Bolles Collection 81

Typical English Windsors with pierced splats. Compare the lines and proportions with those of American chairs . . 85

A good example of the late Windsor settee from Pennsylvania. Owned by Mr. David B. Missemer 85

Examples of late Pennsylvania forms, owned by Mr. D. B. Missemer 92

A good example of the low-back Windsor, owned by Mr. Renwick C. Hurry 92

At the left, comb-back rocker, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth H. Marks; right, child's hoop-back rocker and Pennsylvania fan-back side chair, owned by Mr. D. B. Missemer . . 97

Hoop-back armchair with rockers added and a late form of Windsor rocker, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth H. Marks . . 97

Eli Terry, from a portrait painted between 1800 and 1810. To the right, patent issued to Eli Terry in 1826 and now owned by Mr. Dwight H. Terry, Plymouth, Conn. . . 102

Clock made by Daniel Burnap in 1799. Now owned by Miss Mary W. Andrews, Hartford, Conn. 106

Tall clock made by Silas Hoadley after 1814, with a painted metal dial bearing the maker's name 106

Seth Thomas. From a steel engraving in "The History of Litchfield County." 111

Silas Hoadley. From a portrait owned by Carleton E. Hoadley, Esq., New Haven, Conn. 111

Tall clock made by Eli Terry in 1794. Now owned by Mr. A. C. Bunnell, Ridley Park, Pa. 115

An early tall clock with wooden works made by Terry. Owned by Mrs. James W. Cook of Providence . . . 115

Face and works of an early wooden clock by Eli Terry . . 120

A good example of the pillar-and-scroll-top style made by both Terry and Thomas 120

A later type of shelf clock made by Seth Thomas. Owned by Mr. L. A. Klein, Ridley Park, Pa. 120

Congregational Church, Terryville, Conn. The clock was made by Eli Terry in 1835 125

The original works, with their wooden wheels, remain in the Terryville church clock, but are now regulated by an electrical connection 125

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Simon Willard. From a portrait owned by the Misses Bird, Dorchester, Mass. 132

Simon Willard tall clock owned by the Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I. 137

A typical example of Willard tall clock, with moon's phases above the dial 137

A Simon Willard presentation timepiece, owned by Mr. Dwight M. Prouty, Boston 144

An Aaron Willard banjo clock with a picture of the *Constitution-Guerrière* battle 144

An Aaron Willard shelf clock, forty inches high. Owned by Mr. Dwight M. Prouty, Boston 149

A unique gravity clock by Simon Willard. The entire clock swings like a pendulum 149

Mantel clock in a handsome mahogany case, made by Aaron Willard. Prouty Collection 149

A typical Simon Willard patent timepiece or banjo clock. The eagle on top is probably a later addition . . . 156

The advertisement label which Simon Willard pasted inside the cases of his tall clocks 156

Five Baron Stiegel salt cups of the fourteen owned by Mrs. Albert K. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa. 159

Clear and tinted pitchers and creamers in the Hostetter Collection 159

Stiegel glassware, Metropolitan Museum. Examples of blown relief decoration; barrel tumbler and salt dish . . . 163

Stiegel glassware in the Hunter Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Salt dish and creamer in tinted ware 170

Cotton-stem wine glasses, enameled tumblers, and tinted sugar bowls in the Hostetter Collection of Stiegel glassware 175

Enameled tumblers and mugs. Hostetter Collection . . . 175

Two tumblers in the Hunter Collection of Stiegel glassware. A clear-glass tumbler, corrugated or fluted style, with an etched festoon border; and an example of the enameled ware—the cockatoo pattern 182

A group of silverware made by Paul Revere and exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1906 185

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

The famous Sons of Liberty punch bowl made by Revere in 1768; now owned by Marsden J. Perry, Esq., Providence, R. I. The salt cellar, another patriotic Revere piece, is the property of R. T. Haines Halsey, Esq., New York . 189

A silver tea set of extraordinary grace made by Paul Revere in 1799 for presentation to Edmund Hartt, constructor of the frigate *Boston*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston . 196

Silver sauce pan of unusual design, by Paul Revere . . . 196

Part of the exhibit of Revere silverware at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1906 201

Revere's bookplate, drawn and engraved by himself . . . 208

A Revere teapot of great beauty. Clearwater Collection . . 208

"The Boston Massacre," the most famous of Revere's engravings 211

"Harvard College," by Joseph Chadwick and Paul Revere . 211

Repoussé sugar bowl. An example of Revere's later work . 215

A Paul Revere pitcher owned by Mr. George Francis Dow, Salem, Mass. 215

A collection of silver porringers from the Boston exhibit, arranged in chronological order. The makers are Dummer, Cony, Edwards, Cowell, Dixwell, John Burt, Hurd, Samuel Burt, Revere, and Swan 221

Communion cups owned by the Congregational Church at Stratford, Conn. The six caudle cups are by Cony, Noyes, and Cowell, the two beakers by Hurd, and the chalice by Dummer 225

Baptismal basin by Kneeland (Boston, about 1735); caudle cups by Dummer and Dixwell. Owned by the Center Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn. 225

Alms basin by Revere, flagons by the Burts, beakers by Hull, Dummer and others. Owned by the First Church of Christ, Marblehead, Mass. 225

A remarkable teapot in the Clearwater Collection. Probably made by Daniel Rogers in Newport about 1750 . . 229

Old silver beaker from New York, Dutch type, maker unknown; and communion beakers by Dummer and Hull . 229

Mugs or cans by Andrew Tyler of Boston and Cæsar Griselm of Philadelphia. Clearwater Collection 236

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Loving cup by R. Swan and a plain silver tankard made by Cary Dunn about 1780 236

A teapot by Cony and a coffee pot by Winslow. From the Clearwater Collection 239

Coffee pots by John Cony and Pygan Adams 239

Brazier by Edward Winslow 243

A rare piece of silverware—two-tined fork by John Noyes, first half of the eighteenth century 243

A brazier made by Jacob Hurd of Boston, showing exquisite workmanship. Clearwater Collection 243

Silver porringer made by Samuel Vernon of Newport, about 1725. Truax Collection 250

Silver sweetmeat box made by Winslow in 1702. Now owned by Mr. George S. Palmer, New London, Conn. . 250

Ladle, dish, and sauce boat in the Bolles Collection of American pewter at the Metropolitan Museum 253

Pewter plates in the Bolles Collection 253

American pewter jugs. Bolles Collection 257

Pewter beakers. Bolles Collection 257

Jugs or flagons. Bolles Collection 257

Pepper shakers of American pewter. Bolles Collection . . 264

Five pewter porringers and a strainer. Bolles Collection . 264

Early trefid spoon and five later ones. Bolles Collection . 269

American pewter lamps. Bolles Collection 269

Eighteenth century pewter cider jug and whale-oil lamp. Bolles Collection 276

Two Pennsylvania German sgraffito plates made by David Spinner in 1801. Metropolitan Museum Collection . . 281

Pennsylvania German red clay slip-decorated ware, dated 1788, and bearing the peacock motif that was the favorite of Georg Hübener. It is a meat or vegetable dish, 14 inches in diameter, and a rare specimen. Owned by Mr. Renwick C. Hurry 281

Two sgraffito plates with the popular tulip motif, dated 1810 and 1818, Metropolitan Museum Collection 288

Porcelain vases, Sèvres style, probably made at the American China Manufactory in Philadelphia about 1833—the first American porcelain. Hurry Collection 288

Christopher Webber Fenton 291

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Alanson Lyman 291

A group of Bennington pottery in the Pitkin Collection at the Hartford Athenæum, showing Rockingham and parian ware, figures and pitchers. Here are the poodles, cow creamers, a toby, the exquisite figure in parian of the girl tying her shoe, and the famous hound-handled pitcher 295

Four of the types of Bennington pitchers from the collection of Mr. William A. Cahill, Hoosick Falls, N. Y. From left to right they are the branch-handled pitcher, a plain pattern in scroddled ware, the tulip pattern, and Greatbach's Bennington hound-handle 302

Hound-handled pitchers from the Jersey City or Trenton potteries, probably designed by Greatbach. Note the differences in the modeling of the head and forelegs of the Bennington hound above 302

The recumbent cow and two kinds of tobies. Owned by Mr. William A. Cahill 307

Pudding dish, coffee pot, and candlesticks in the collection of Bennington pottery at the Metropolitan Museum . . . 307

Poodles and coachman bottle from Mr. Cahill's Collection. The white poodle is rare and valuable 307

The Bennington deer, one of the most popular figures. From the collection of Elihu B. Taft, Esq., Burlington, Vt. . . 314

The Bennington cow creamer. Owned by Miss Mary H. Northend, Salem, Mass 314

Examples of blue and white parian ware made at Bennington. From the collection of Mr. Charles S. Sherman, Glens Falls, N. Y. 317

White parian owned by Mr. Andrew B. Oatman, Bennington, Vt. The pitcher is the daisy pattern; the white swan is very rare 317

Seventeenth-century turned chair (Harvard chair) and oak wainscot chair 321

At the left, American Queen Anne fiddle-back chair, Dutch type, with Spanish feet, about 1710–20; right, a somewhat later style, with cabriole legs and ball-and-claw feet. Bolles Collection 321

At the left, Charles II or Restoration style, with Flemish

PAGE

feet, 1675–1700; center, the second stage, bannister-back with Spanish feet and Restoration features; right, third stage, with spindles rounded on the back. Metropolitan Museum 328

At the left, bannister-back armchair with spindles rounded on the back, Metropolitan Museum; right, bannister-back armchair with flat, grooved spindles, about 1740–50, owned by the author 328

Early slat-back armchair and later four-back chair. Metropolitan Museum 333

At the left, early roundabout with solid splats and Dutch feet, owned by the author; right, later roundabout, Chippendale style, in the Bolles Collection 333

American-made chairs of the Chippendale type, 1760–70 . . 339

At the left, American chair of the Sheraton type, about 1800; right, "fancy" chair, early nineteenth century. Metropolitan Museum 339

The oak gate-leg table, of Jacobean origin, was popular in England and the Colonies during the last half of the seventeenth century. This one, a fine example of American workmanship, is in the Bolles Collection 345

An unusual form of tripod table with inlaid top; 1780–1800. Bolles Collection 345

A not ungraceful table of the Dutch type, American manufacture; 1750–75. Bolles Collection 345

American mahogany table with reeded legs, Sheraton style; about 1800. Owned by Mrs. W. A. Dyer 345

Types of early nineteenth-century American looking-glasses. Bolles Collection. The first two have gilt frames of Empire type, and the third is of flat mahogany 352

American glass cup plates, 1830 to 1850 357

Gen. Taylor flask, Dyottville works; Masonic flask by A. R. Samuels, and bottle by S. Huffsey; about 1850. Metropolitan Museum Collection 357

Eighteenth-century iron vessels from the Bolles Collection . 363

Old Pennsylvania stove plates, owned by Mr. David B. Missemer 363

One form of the old Franklin stove. Owned by the author . 367

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

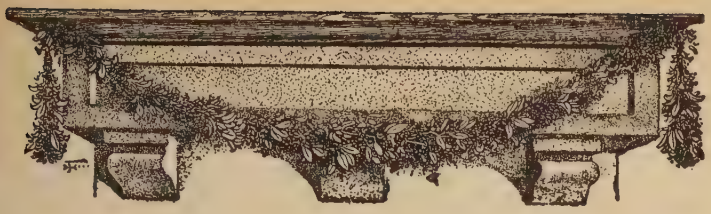
American iron vessels, eighteenth century. Metropolitan Museum 367

An American hand-woven coverlet of the late eighteenth century. From the Metropolitan Museum Collection . 371

A fashionable type of needlework. "Washington Memorial" embroidery, about 1800. Bolles Collection 377

American sampler, one of the less elaborate forms. Metropolitan Museum of Art 377

Early American Craftsmen



Early American Craftsmen

CHAPTER I

THE VOGUE OF AMERICANA

PATRIOTISM, when it leads to war and desolation, ceases, in my opinion, to be a virtue; but when it leads men and women to the revival and preservation of worthy traditions and institutions, and to the study of history, of folk literature and music and the industrial arts, it becomes a positive, constructive force for good in the onward march of civilization.

America is still young compared with Europe and Asia, but it is not so young that we are free from the danger of forgetting much that was worthy and memorable in the lives of our forefathers. In the midst of our modernism and commercialism we need an injection of that sort of patriotism and national

pride which is born of ancestor worship and the backward glance. We need to cultivate a finer appreciation of our historic and artistic heritage.

Among American collectors and connoisseurs, both amateur and professional—enthusiastic custodians of a gentle cult—this spirit of patriotism has of late been growing. They have been turning their attention toward Americana.

The mild mania of the collector of antiques is insidious. It becomes a quest without an ultimate conclusion. One begins with blue Staffordshire plates and Hepplewhite chairs, passes on to the Jacobean walnut and Wedgwood stage, then to Elizabethan oak, and finally nothing satisfies but more or less fragmentary relics of the Italian, Spanish, French, or Flemish Renaissance.

But there is noticeable a reaction from all this. Beginning with the exhibition of American silverware in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1906 and the exhibits of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration in New York in 1909, there has been awakened a new vogue for American antiquities of a hundred-odd years ago. The field is not without distinct interest. There is the furniture of Duncan Phyfe, the clocks of Eli Terry and Simon Willard, the silverware of Paul Revere and his contemporaries, the glassware

of Baron Stiegel, Windsor chairs and samplers, and a host of other treasures as worthy of preservation as the cracked chests of Tudor England or the tattered altar cloths of Spain. It is a field that should prove more and more alluring to patriotic Americans as they begin to appreciate more fully the true artistic genius of their forefathers.

And with this new vogue of Americana has come an increasing interest in American Colonial and Revolutionary history and the establishment of a more vivid and human background for the stirring events of other days. For there is something distinctly human about the development of the industrial arts; they touch life at so many points and so intimately; and the students and collectors of Americana have been, unconsciously perhaps, reconstructing for us a more living picture of the men and manners of a former time, and history is made thereby a more vital thing. The collector has ceased to be absorbed entirely by the quest for a bargain and has become a delver after human facts.

Happily for the growth of this new interest, the leading art museums of the East and many of the smaller ones have, during the past ten years, been taking the matter seriously, and the private collector of Americana is granted the opportunity of studying

his favorite branch under the most advantageous conditions.

To Edwin Atlee Barber, Ph.D., Director of the Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia, we are indebted for most of what we know of the history of American ceramics and glassware. He began his studies and his collecting twenty years ago, long before there was any special interest in or appreciation for Americana, and he has written several books on American ceramics and glassware which stand as authoritative. The Pennsylvania Museum collection in this field is the largest and most comprehensive in existence. There are something like one hundred and fifty pieces of Pennsylvania-German slip-decorated ware alone, while the entire collection of American pottery and porcelain, covering the history of the art in this country from the beginning, numbers over one thousand examples. The collection of American glass, comprising about six hundred pieces, is also the most representative in existence, and includes examples of all periods beginning with the first American glass works established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1621.

Another noteworthy collection of American pottery is the Pitkin collection at the Wadsworth Athenæum in Hartford, Connecticut. It includes early

A corner in one of the rooms at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, containing the Bolles Collection and other Americana

earthenware from all of the New England States and New York, sgraffito and slip-decorated ware from Pennsylvania, Bennington ware, etc.

The pioneer in the field of American furniture was Dr. Irving W. Lyon, author of "Colonial Furniture in New England," which was published in 1891. He gathered an excellent collection of American-made furniture found in New England, particularly about Hartford. When this collection was at last sold a large part of it was acquired by H. Eugene Bolles, Esq., of Boston, a contemporary collector of English and American furniture of the seventeenth century. Mr. Bolles also acquired the collection of Mr. Albert Hosmer, a Hartford cabinet-maker, and with these collections as a foundation he succeeded in getting together a splendid representation of the work of early American furniture makers before there was any great demand for it. In 1909 the Bolles collection was purchased by Mrs. Russell Sage and placed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, where it is now on view. It is particularly strong in the finer American work of the Georgian period.

Another valuable and unique exhibit is the collection of Colonial furnishings gathered by Mr. Charles L. Pendleton of Providence and given by him to

the Rhode Island School of Design in 1904. Mr. Pendleton's aim was to furnish a house as an American gentleman of taste would have done toward the close of the eighteenth century. The house containing the collection was the gift of Mr. Stephen O. Metcalf and was built in accordance with the type of architecture prevalent in Providence at the time of the Revolution. The collection is strong in American-made furniture and represents the work of one hundred years, beginning with 1690.

The finest single collection of old American silverware in existence is that gathered by Hon. A. T. Clearwater of Kingston, New York, and placed on view in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Judge Clearwater began collecting American specimens after visiting the loan exhibit in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1906, and built up his collection rapidly. At present there are four hundred and thirty pieces on exhibition. Of these two hundred and thirty-four are flatware of the eighteenth century, one hundred and forty-three are tankards, beakers, teapots, porringers, and other table utensils of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and fifty-three are specimens of early nineteenth century work. Judge Clearwater is con-

stantly adding to the collection. About half of the eighteenth century pieces antedate 1750. There are specimens of the work of John Cony, Edward Winslow, John and Benjamin Burt, Andrew Tyler, Benjamin Wynkoop, and others, and a large number of pieces by Paul Revere.

There are smaller collections of Americana at the Essex Institute in Salem, the Concord Antiquarian Society, Memorial Hall at Deerfield, and a number of other places that are well worth visiting, while such private collections as Mr. Frederick W. Hunter's Stiegel glass, Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey's furniture and silver, and several others, have played an important part in the development of this new interest in Americana.

The Pendleton collection is typical of the new idea in museum exhibits—the authentic reconstruction of an old environment rather than the mere display of relics. Such reproductions of seventeenth and eighteenth century interiors as may be seen at Mt. Vernon, at several of Washington's headquarters, at the Van Cortlandt house and Jumel mansion in New York, Philipse Manor at Yonkers, and the Ropes house in Salem, have the effect of recalling the home atmosphere of other days and of

re-forming the background against which the national and domestic drama of our forefathers was enacted.

Having attained this new vision of the home life of the Colonies, our collecting takes on a new color. Our piece of old silver becomes something more than an example of rare craftsmanship; in our Windsor chair we see something more than grace of line. They become more personal. The engraved silver beaker, when we have learned where and when it was made and for what it was used, calls up a picture of a little Dutch Reformed Church in old Manhattan and of the Knickerbockers who filled its pews. We handle the piece more reverently, studying the workmanship and design, and presently comes a vision of old Peter Van Dyck himself in his little shop, weighing out the precious metal or plying his graver's tool.

It is inevitable that the average person's interest should shift from the craft to the craftsman, from the object of worth or beauty to the man who fashioned it. True connoisseurs like Mr. Luke Vincent Lockwood—and they are all too few in this country—approach art from the other direction. To them the craft is the important matter and the craftsman secondary. But most of us must confess to a

curiosity in human lives. We are interested in men more than in metals.

That is why I have chosen to write about early American craftsmen rather than to treat Americana as a subject for analysis and classification, for division into periods and for grouping under heads. And I fancy that the average person, not seeking to become an authority or an expert, would learn no more about the growth of the industrial arts in America or the classification of their products, from such a scientific treatise, than from the more humanly interesting contemplation of the lives and work of the patriotic Revere, the struggling Phyfe, the flamboyant Stiegel, the industrious Willard. And, after all, without craftsmen there would be no crafts.

CHAPTER II

SAMUEL MC INTIRE, MASTER CARPENTER

AMONG the most precious of our American heritages of Colonial and post-Revolutionary times are the homes of our forefathers that have been preserved to us. They are precious not only because of their historical associations but because in them still lives a spirit of honest and inspired craftsmanship as true if not as lofty as that which entered into the building of the Cologne Cathedral or the Taj Mahal. We are constantly harking back to them in our attempts to develop an American style of domestic architecture, because there is something about them that has stood the test of time—something good and true and beautiful.

What manner of men designed and builded these fine old mansions and farmsteads? Of Bulfinch we know, of La Trobe and Jefferson and a few others who were professional or amateur architects. But

The old Assembly House, Salem, Mass., built in 1782, is fairly typical of the style of architecture employed by Samuel McIntire.

they were not the men who conceived the harmonious proportions and exquisite details of the homes of our forefathers. The domestic architects of that day were for the most part architects merely as part of the day's work; they were the builders and master carpenters, honest craftsmen all, and of them we know all too little.

The master carpenters of a hundred-odd years ago combined the present professions of architect, contractor, builder, decorator, and artisan. They were workmen who lived with their tools and not in sumptuous city offices. Yet they honored their craft and exalted it. In Boston the guild which met in Carpenter's Hall was composed of men of intellect who were masters of their calling. Alas, their tribe has well nigh perished.

The achievements of these men, especially as shown in the private houses of New England and the South, constitute our chief claim to a national and indigenous school of architecture. "For although these houses," as one writer puts it, "were modeled on the style prevalent at the time all over England, they show the common classical and stereotyped forms used with a justness of proportion, a nicety of detail, and a refinement and grace which distinguished them from all other buildings of the period."

In no single spot are more of these treasures of architectural craftsmanship to be found than at Salem, Massachusetts. Salem was a prosperous seaport. Her citizens from the early days of the eighteenth century amassed comfortable fortunes in the fisheries and the overseas trade, and they spent their money at home, building houses comparable in elegance and good taste with the best manor houses of Virginia. The doorways and interior woodwork particularly—the mantels, paneling, and stairways—exhibit a remarkable feeling for classic detail and a restraint and care in workmanship seldom found elsewhere.

This interior woodwork was almost invariably made of white pine which grew in abundance along the New England coast, and which offered an excellent material for carving. It was nearly always well seasoned before its use and was kept protected by white paint; as a result it has resisted the effects of time to a remarkable extent. But the most noteworthy thing about it is the workmanship—the skill, ingenuity, and technical knowledge displayed in its application to specific needs.

Unquestionably the skill which these carpenters acquired in wood carving and ornamental work gen-

erally was due largely to their training in the Salem ship-yards, where fine carving and accurately fitted and proportioned work was always in demand. They learned their trade amid conditions calculated to develop it to its highest plane. Many of the details, in fact, strongly suggest marine cabin work. But beneath it all lay the true spirit of craftsmanship inherent in the Yankee artisan—the impulse to do things as well as they could be done.

At first one is inclined to marvel at the knowledge of styles which these wood workers evidently possessed. Most of them were Yankees born and bred; they did not travel; they never saw the best examples of English Georgian work. But they were not illiterate men. They knew how to use books, and it was from books as well as from their masters that they doubtless drew a large share of their inspiration. The Salem period from 1785 to 1810 reflects strikingly the influence of Robert and James Adam, whose books on interior decoration appeared in 1783 and 1786. The Salem master carpenters had access to the best architectural books of the period, but they were not slavish copyists. They adapted the best that they found, and the style suffered not in its translation at their hands.

The names of most of these artists in wood have been forgotten, but one stands out preëminent as master of them all—Samuel McIntire. It was he who impressed his personality most definitely on the architecture of Salem from 1782 to 1811. He designed nearly all of the best houses of that period. To him more than to any other is due the credit for our heritage of classic workmanship still to be seen in Salem.

Samuel McIntire was born, lived, and died in Salem. He never went abroad, and so far as we know he learned all he knew from his books and from the ship builders and carpenters of his native town. All of his work was done in and near Salem.

In spite of these limitations of training, however, McIntire's work displays a depth and breadth of artistic feeling and understanding that are truly remarkable in view of his restricted opportunities. He was the artistic descendant of Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Grinling Gibbons, and the brothers Adam; he was also their peer in originality as well as in fidelity to the best classic traditions. More chaste and severe than Wren and Gibbons, he was more fanciful than Adam. Perhaps it was his very freedom from the schools that gave him faith

Hall in the Nichols house, Salem, designed by McIntire. The picture includes the original carved gate-posts as well as a bit of the fine woodwo.k.

in his own genius to do the thing that best suited given conditions, and this faith seldom led him astray.

Few of the details of McIntire's life have been preserved in any form. The best sketch of him, though exasperatingly brief, is to be found in the diary of William Bentley, D.D., pastor of the East Church, Salem. On February 7, 1811, Bentley wrote as follows:

"This day Salem was deprived of one of the most ingenious men it had in it. Samuel McIntire, *aet.* 54, in Summer Street. He was descended of a family of Carpenters who had no claims on public favor and was educated at a branch of that business. By attention he soon gained a superiority to all of his occupation and the present Court House, the North and South Meeting Houses, and indeed all the improvements of Salem for nearly thirty years past have been done under his eye. In Sculpture he had no rival in New England and I possess some specimens which I should not scruple to compare with any I ever saw. To the best of my abilities I encouraged him in this branch. In Music he had a good taste and tho' not presuming to be an original composer, he was among our best Judges and most

able performers. All the instruments we use he could understand and was the best person to be employed in correcting any defects, or repairing them. He had a fine person, a majestic appearance, calm countenance, great self command and amiable temper. He was welcome but never intruded. He had complained of some obstruction in the chest, but when he died it was unexpectedly. The late increase of workmen in wood has been from the demand for exportation and this has added nothing to the character and reputation of the workmen, so that upon the death of Mr. McIntire no man is left to be consulted upon a new plan of execution beyond his bare practice."

A brief obituary notice in the Salem *Gazette* of February 8, 1811, also shows the esteem in which McIntire was held:

"Died: Mr. McIntire, a man much beloved and sincerely lamented. He was originally bred to the occupation of a housewright but his vigorous mind soon passed the limits of his profession and aspired to the interesting and admirable science of architecture in which he advanced far beyond most of his countrymen. He made an assiduous study of

Coat-of-arms of Massachusetts, designed and carved in wood by McIntire. Now in the Essex Institute, Salem.

McIntire's stairways and banisters are always interesting. Nichols house.

the great classical masters with whose works, notwithstanding their rarity in this country, Mr. McIntire had a very intimate acquaintance."

Samuel McIntire was born in Salem in 1757. His father was Joseph McIntire, a joiner, and it is likely that he learned his trade from him. He studied and practised wood carving under local masters and soon became noted for his skill. This craft he practised all his life, though the need for architects where architects were scarce led him into the designing of homes.

In one sense he never became a great architect. His houses are mostly the square, three-story mansions of the period, that leave much to be desired in the way of grace and variety. His fame rests rather on the beauty of the embellishments of these houses —their doorways, window frames, cornices, gateposts, and their incomparable interior woodwork.

As was not uncommon in those days, McIntire's name suffered many variations in spelling, but the one given here is supported by the best authority.

He died February 6, 1811, and was laid to rest in the Charter Street Burial Ground, Salem. His grave-stone, which is still to be seen, reads as follows:

In Memory Of
MR. SAMUEL McINTIRE
Who Died Feb. 6, 1811
Aet. 54

He was distinguished for Genius in Architecture, Sculpture, and Musick: Modest and sweet Manners rendered him pleasing; Industry and Integrity respectable: He professed the Religion of Jesus in his entrance on manly life; and proved its excellence by virtuous Principle and unblemished conduct.

He left three children, all boys; one other died in infancy.

McIntire died intestate, but his executors drew up an inventory of his effects which is on record in the Essex County Probate Office and which contains much of interest to the searcher after McIntire data. This inventory shows that he was not a rich man. His house and shop were valued at $3,000 and his personal property at $1,190, besides some $963 in notes. This property was left to his widow, Elizabeth McIntire.

The most interesting items on this list are his carving tools, his books, and his music and musical instruments. He left "a large hand organ with ten barrels," "a double bass (musical instrument)," a

violin and case, and a collection of books of music, including an edition of Handel's "Messiah." His small but well selected library indicates his taste and culture. Among his architectural works were Palladio's Architecture, Ware's Architecture, Architecture by Langley, another by Paine, Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, a book of sculptures, and two volumes of French architecture. The possession of the Palladio explains much.

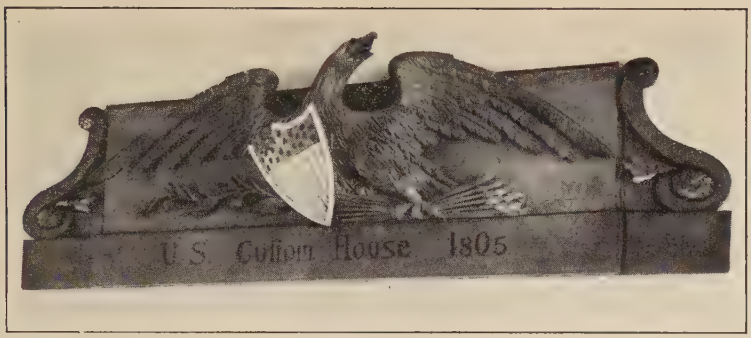
In his shop was found a complete equipment of carver's, joiner's, and draughting tools, including three hundred chisels and gouges and forty-six molding planes. This set of tools was famous at the time for its size and completeness. He also left eight of his Washington medallions and a number of finished ornaments, etc.

In 1792 McIntire took part in the first public architectural competition held in this country. He submitted plans for the new national capitol at Washington, but apparently they lacked impressiveness, for they were rejected. The original drawings, however, which are preserved by the Maryland Historical Society, exhibit great refinement and dignity.

There were a few public buildings in Massachusetts which were built from his plans. He was the architect for the old South Church in Salem, which

was built in 1804 and destroyed by fire in 1903. It was famous for its graceful steeple. The steeple of the Park Street Church, Boston, has been attributed to him, but erroneously. The old Salem Court House, completed in 1786, was designed by McIntire, and also the Registry of Deeds, erected on Broad Street in 1807. A mantel taken from this latter building is now to be seen at the Essex Institute. He also designed the old Assembly Hall, at 138 Federal Street, which was built in 1782 and was converted into a private residence about 1795.

The greater portion of McIntire's work, however, is to be found in the mansions of Salem and vicinity, which are unquestionably among the chief architectural treasures of eastern Massachusetts to-day. A score or more of them are attributed to him. Among those which bear the marks of authenticity are the Pierce-Johonnot-Nichols house at 80 Federal Street, built in 1782; Hamilton Hall, on Chestnut Street, built in 1808; the Crowninshield mansion on Derby Street, built in 1810; the Derby-Rogers-Maynes house on Essex Street; the White-Pingree house at 128 Essex Street, built in 1810; the Tucker-Rice house, 129 Essex Street, built in 1800 and partly dismantled in 1910; the Cook-Oliver house, 142 Federal Street, erected in 1804; the Kimball



Pediment from the old Custom House, Salem, carved by McIntire in 1805 and now owned by the Essex Institute.

The famous Washington medallion that once adorned the McIntire archway, Washington Square, Salem.

house at 14 Pickman Street; Oak Hill, the Rogers home at Peabody, built in 1800; and a few others.

One of the most noteworthy of these is the Nichols house, a splendid relic of the day of commercial prosperity. The interior woodwork here has been studied by architects for a generation or more and represents McIntire's most painstaking craftsmanship. The splendid porches and gateways also bear witness to his skill as a designer.

Perhaps the most famous is the Cook-Oliver house. Its history is linked with that of the old Derby house which was in its day the most sumptuous mansion in this section of the country. In 1799 Elias Hasket Derby, a successful and wealthy merchant, erected a house on what is now Market Square at a cost of $80,000. McIntire was the architect and, as expense was not considered, he placed therein some of the finest of all his interior woodwork and carving. The plans of this house are now in the possession of the Essex Institute. Derby did not live long to enjoy this house, and upon his death it was offered for sale, as his heirs found its maintenance beyond their means. No purchaser appeared, and the house was finally torn down in 1814 to make room for a public market.

Meanwhile, Captain Samuel Cook had started

building another McIntire house which was later occupied by his daughter, who, in 1825, married General Henry K. Oliver, mayor of Lawrence and Salem, and a man of progressive activities. This house was enriched with hand carving.

When the Derby house was torn down its timbers and woodwork were purchased by Salem citizens, and Captain Cook secured some of the finest of the McIntire gate-posts, mantels, etc., for his new home, so that the Oliver house to-day contains some of the most noteworthy of McIntire's work. Fortunately for posterity the great Salem fire just missed this house. It was here that General Oliver composed his famous hymn, "Federal Street."

A third house which contains a wealth of McIntire's work is Oak Hill, at Peabody, near Salem. Its chimney pieces, door frames, cornices, etc., are remarkable for their fine and beautiful detail and exquisite proportions and represent the great carver and designer at his best.

In 1802 the Salem Common was graded and planted with trees and named Washington Square. In 1805, McIntire designed and executed wooden gateways for the east and west sides of the square—elaborate arches embellished with carvings. For the western gateway he carved a medallion likeness

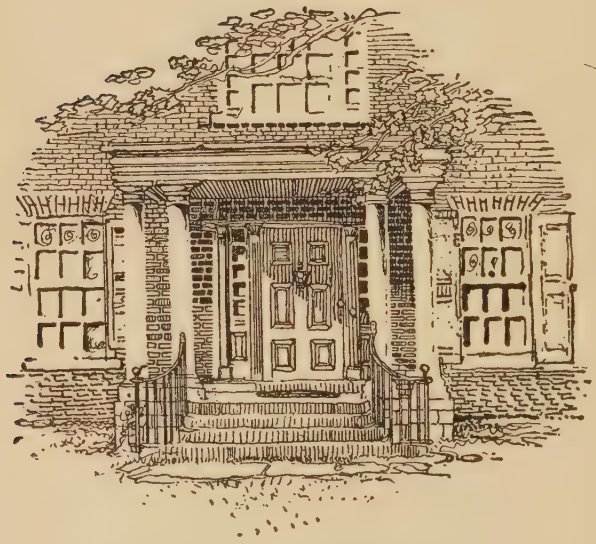
Bust of Governor Winthrop carved in wood by Samuel McIntire for Rev. William Bentley in 1798 and now owned by the American Antiquarian Socicty.

of General Washington, thirty-eight by fifty-six inches in size. When the arches were taken down in 1850 this medallion was removed to the Town Hall and is now to be seen at the Essex Institute. It was carved in wood after drawings from life made by McIntire during Washington's visit to Salem in 1789.

McIntire undoubtedly attempted sculpture in a modest way, but few authentic examples of his work have been preserved. Perhaps the most interesting of these is a bust of Governor Winthrop, carved in wood in 1789 for William Bentley and now owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

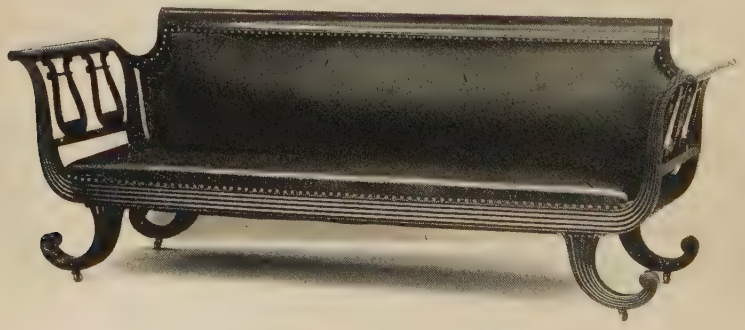
Any attempt to analyze McIntire's style too closely, and to pick out hall-marks for identification, is likely to lead one into deep water. He had his favorite motifs and design details, but they differ but slightly from those of other American craftsmen of the period who, like McIntire, felt the Adam influence, and there were some who did not scruple to copy him. But his workmanship so far surpassed that of his rivals that a careful study of contemporary work makes it not difficult to pick out the handicraft of the master. His proportions were always perfect, his details fine, and his balance between plain surfaces and decoration carefully

studied. His finely modeled cornices, pilasters, wainscot borders, and lintels are never over-elaborate, never weak, and his applied ornament is always clean-cut, graceful, and chaste. It would be difficult to discover, in the Old World or the New, a more thoroughly satisfying expression of the wood-worker's art than the work of this master carpenter of Salem.



Eight-legged sofa of the Sheraton type, by Duncan Phyfe. Owned by R. T. Haines Halsey, Esq., New York.

The long, three-support extension table in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Phyfe sofa with cornucopia legs and lyre arms. Halsey Collection.

CHAPTER III

THE EXQUISITE FURNITURE OF DUNCAN PHYFE

SO far as I have been able to discover there are not many more than one hundred pieces of genuine Duncan Phyfe furniture to be found in museums or private collections to-day. It is a great pity, for Americans ought to know more about the work of this New York cabinet-maker of a hundred years ago. Most of the books on furniture either fail to mention Phyfe or dismiss him with a few words as one of the many followers of Sheraton. He was much more than that, for while he owed much to his English contemporary he developed a style of his own—an American style, mark you—and the best of his work is equal to anything ever produced by Sheraton or Hepplewhite. I think I am not overestimating him. An examination of such pieces as are to be found in the collection of Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey of New York cannot fail to awaken an enthusiastic admiration for the ex-

quisite feeling for line, color, and detail which animated the work of this post-Revolutionary craftsman.

Fortunately, however, there are now signs of a Phyfe revival. Since the exhibits at the Metropolitan Museum of Art during the Hudson-Fulton Celebration in 1909, the name of Phyfe has become more or less familiar to people who never heard it before.

On Twenty-sixth Street, New York, just east of Third Avenue, there is a dusty, crowded little shop where fine reproductions of old furniture are made by two men named Hagen, who learned their trade from their father, Ernest Hagen, lately deceased, who was an inspired craftsman of the old school. It is not my purpose to advertise a modern cabinet-making business, but if it had not been for the unencouraged persistence and artistic enthusiasm of Mr. Hagen the elder, it is likely that we should be ignorant of the little we now know about Duncan Phyfe. Mr. Hagen followed every clue, interviewed every surviving relative, and before he died set down his discoveries in a notebook which, through the courtesy of Mr. Halsey, is now before me.

While I have been able to obtain some additional information about Phyfe and his work, I think I

cannot do better than quote at some length from Mr. Hagen's notebook.

"In 1783 or 1784," he writes, "just after the close of the Revolutionary War, a Scotch family by the name of Phyfe left their home at Loch Fannich, thirty miles northwest of Inverness, with six or eight children, of whom two died on the long voyage in the old, slow sailing vessel. Coming here they settled in or near Albany, New York.

"The second oldest son, Duncan, then about sixteen years old, learned the cabinet-maker's trade in Albany, and after a time set up a shop for himself. But he could not find work enough to make it pay in Albany, so he moved to New York and started business in Broad Street where most of the cabinet-makers were then located. He got some work from Mrs. Langdon, the daughter of John Jacob Astor, which, done to her satisfaction, got him more orders. But after all it was not enough, and he concluded that he would go back to Albany and try it there a second time. When Mrs. Langdon heard of this she persuaded him to stay here and promised to help him wherever she could and recommend him to her friends.

"He remained in New York, and after several moves finally settled at 35 Partition Street, which is

now that part of Fulton Street lying west of Broadway, East Fulton Street being then called Fair Street. This was in 1795. In 1816 the name of the street was changed to Fulton and the houses were renumbered, his number being 192 and 194 with his dwelling house opposite at 193.

"In 1837 the firm's name changed to Duncan Phyfe & Sons. In 1840 it again changed to Duncan Phyfe & Son, the son's name being James D. Phyfe. In 1847 he sold out and retired, but still lived at 193 Fulton Street until his death, which occurred August 16, 1854, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the family vault in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn. His wife Rachel (*née* Salde or Salade) was born in Holland and died July 17, 1851.

"Duncan Phyfe's chief merit lies in the carrying out and especially improving of the Sheraton style of settees, chairs, and tables in his best period. The work about 1820, although the workmanship was perfect, gradually degenerated in style, at first to the questionable American Empire, and after 1830 to the heavy and nondescript veneered style of the time when the cholera first appeared in New York. From 1833 to 1840 or 1845 the overdecorated and

Phyfe extension table with two four-pillar supports, showing fine acanthus-leaf carving. Halsey Collection.

Folding card table with octagonal top and crossed lyre support. Halsey Collection.

carved rosewood style set in which Phyfe himself called 'butcher furniture.'

"Phyfe's shop stood at the west corner of Church Street. This whole block is now being pulled down [1907] to make room for the new tunnel to Jersey City. The site of his house opposite is now occupied by the Fire Department as an engine house.

"Within a stone's throw of the old shop, in the sexton's office of St. Paul's Church, is one of Phyfe's sofas. Two chairs which they had to match it were lost.

"Duncan Phyfe of Jersey City, now ninety-three years old [since deceased], who knows more about the old affairs than any of the other members of the family, says that his uncle was a very plain man, always working and always smoking a short pipe. In 1842 a Lord John Hays visited his shop to get some information concerning cabinet woods, when he would not even take the pipe out of his mouth. He was very strict in his habits and all the members of the family had to be in bed by nine o'clock. After retiring from business he kept on working at the bench making small things for his folks which they still preserve. . . ."

Duncan Phyfe is described by his grandson as a

small man of slight build. He was a member of the Brick Presbyterian Church and a very strict Calvinist. The more austere tenets of his faith had the effect of making his latter years somewhat gloomy.

He was married young and had four sons and three daughters, the eldest daughter being named Isabella after the sister who had died at sea. For this daughter he built and furnished a commodious mansion at New Market, New Jersey, which is now occupied by his great-grandson, Mr. F. P. Vail.

Mr. Vail, by the way, owns several excellent examples of Duncan Phyfe furniture, particularly of the Empire period. He also treasures a silver tea service which Phyfe designed, had executed in New York, and presented to his wife at the close of the War of 1812.

Mrs. Vail is authority for the statement that the name was spelled Fife or Fyfe in Scotland, but that the family changed it for business reasons after settling here.

At least one of Phyfe's brothers—Lockland—was associated with him in business, while John Phyfe was a grocer at 30 Barclay Street. After 1820 the names of several Phyfes appear in the directories, perhaps sons and nephews of the cabinet-maker. There was James A. Phyfe, a cabinet-maker on

James Street; James, a carver, at 30 Barclay Street; John, Jr., ivory turner, 30 Barclay Street; Michael, cabinet-maker, 38 Dey Street.

The Hudson Terminal Building now stands on the site of Duncan Phyfe's shop. His name and trade appear in the New York Directory of 1802—the only Phyfe in the book—with the Partition Street address. When the name of the street was changed to Fulton in 1816, Phyfe's numbers were at first 168–172, with his house at 169; thus he appears in the 1821 directory. The numbers were changed to 194–196 and 193 about 1826.

It is recorded that Phyfe's business grew until he employed over a hundred journeymen cabinet-makers. Nevertheless, he undoubtedly went through a severe struggle before he succeeded. In fact, he was never so successful that he could afford to be independent; he was obliged to follow the tastes of the times, which accounts for the deplorable deterioration of his style after 1820. His ideals of craftsmanship, however, never permitted him to turn out poor construction or slipshod workmanship, so that he never made cheap furniture. Consequently, his market was limited to the well-to-do class which was none too numerous in those post-Revolutionary days.

During the first few years of his New York career, before his work was appreciated, he must have had a hard fight for business existence, but he held to his artistic ideals and perfected his style and workmanship. It was his very attitude of exclusiveness, no doubt, which at last caught the fancy of wealthy patrons. The Astors took him up between 1798 and 1800 and started the Duncan Phyfe vogue, and he was saved from bankruptcy.

In spite of Phyfe's just claim to artistic recognition, and in spite of his prominence in the commercial life of New York, his name is scarcely mentioned in any of the local histories or biographical dictionaries. In fact, the only mention of any interest that I have found has been taken from the official narrative of the Erie Canal Celebration, prepared by Col. Wm. L. Stone in 1825. After Gov. DeWitt Clinton had performed the ceremony of the commingling of the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Atlantic, a portion of the water was placed in an American-made glass bottle to be sent to France as a gift to General Lafayette. The bottle was placed in a wooden box or casket made from a cedar log brought down from Erie in the first canal boat, *Seneca Chief*, and the man who constructed the cas-

Phyfe music rack, Empire period. Owned by Mrs. Dwight M. Prouty, Boston

Phyfe stand, showing a favorite form of table top.

ket was Duncan Phyfe, the most skilled wood-worker in the city.

In the course of his investigations Mr. Hagen discovered an old bill made out by Phyfe on January 4, 1816, for goods sold to Charles N. Bancker of Philadelphia. It is valuable for several reasons: it is a personal document a hundred years old, in the handwriting of a man of distinction, and it gives the current prices for the better class furniture of those days. Single chairs were priced at $22 each, a sofa at $122, a pier table at $265, a pair of card tables $130, etc. While our factories are to-day able to turn out well-made furniture at lower prices than these, it is not to be compared with the Phyfe pieces for beauty or for thoroughness of workmanship. For hand-made furniture it was not costly, for rents and wages were lower then, and these same pieces could not be duplicated to-day, with anything like the same grade of materials and workmanship, at those prices. The chairs would cost from $25 to $35 and the other pieces in proportion.

In connection with these figures it is interesting to learn that the journeymen cabinet-makers of that day had an effective and dignified union organization which fixed the prices on all work. There are

copies in existence of an interesting old book published in 1796 by "The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers of New York," which gives in detail the union's prices for every sort of furniture then made, with all possible modifications, and states that the journeymen shall "work ten hours per day; employers to find candles."

Phyfe designed his furniture by fashioning models in his workshop. He was a wretched draftsman, as is shown by two sketches on the back of the aforementioned bill, which offend all laws of proportion and perspective. He was an artist with his tools, not with his pencil.

Phyfe's work may be divided into three periods: the Adam-Sheraton from 1795 to about 1818; the American Empire from 1818 to 1830; the "butcher furniture" from 1830 to 1847. On the work of the first period and part of the second his claim to immortality rests. As has already been stated, the deterioration of his style was through no choice of his but because he was obliged by commercial conditions to follow the fashions of the times. Even the quality of workmanship fell off during hard times because there was no market for expensive furniture and Phyfe had to make a living. As a result the beautiful carving and finely modeled tool work

gradually disappeared and his furniture became less and less distinctive. After the War of 1812 times were especially hard; there was a financial panic in 1817; and probably Phyfe made very little of his finer furniture during these years. After 1818 he yielded gradually to the popular influence of the styles of the French Empire, and the first of his Empire pieces display considerable merit, but he was soon obliged to give way before the demand for heavier and more showy designs. In short, it is safe to say that the finest examples of Phyfe's work now in existence—those worthy to be known as "Phyfe furniture"—belong to the period prior to 1812.

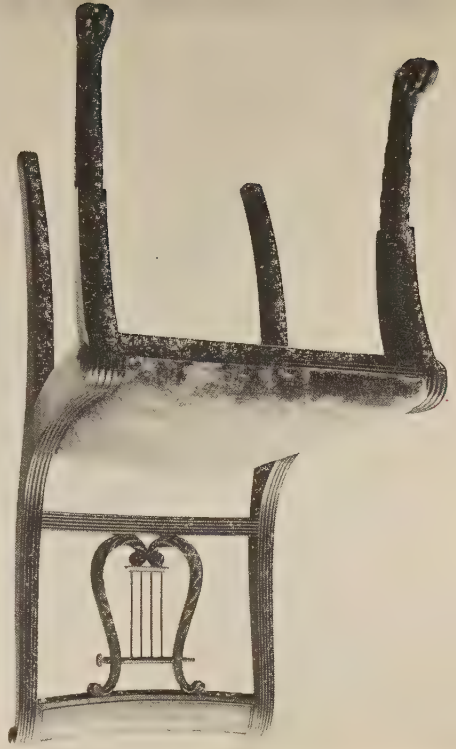
Before venturing into an analysis of Phyfe's peculiar style and a study of its sources and development, it may be well to mention briefly the various kinds of furniture on which he specialized. These were chiefly chairs, sofas, tables, and sideboards. He worked in mahogany, plain and veneered, importing the finest quality of Cuban and Santo Domingan wood. It is said that his insistence on quality in the raw material led the West Indian exporters to speak of the very finest timbers as "Duncan Phyfe logs," and to mark them with his initials. He is said to have paid as high as $1,000 apiece for some of these logs. He was very proud of his wood and

owned a private yard where he stacked his lumber. Thus he made certain of perfect seasoning. He selected and cut his veneering with the utmost care and applied it with Peter Cooper's best glue. Except for a little satinwood and bird's-eye maple, Phyfe used practically nothing but mahogany, until he was forced to supply the demand for rosewood toward the end of his career.

Of his sideboards, I have never seen one in the style of his early period, and I am led to believe that he made few if any until after 1820. He is said to have followed Sheraton, Hepplewhite, and Chippendale in his sideboard designs, but those I have seen have all shown Empire characteristics, and they range from very fine to commonplace.

Two types of chairs are especially worthy of mention. In one—probably the earlier—the back shows two horizontal pieces, finely carved and modeled, and curved to fit the body. In the other the motif of the back is the lyre, which indicates the approach of the Empire feeling. This lyre, often finely carved and with strings of brass or whalebone, was one of Phyfe's favorite details, not only for chairs, but for tables, sofas, and other pieces.

Phyfe's chairs are alone sufficient to give the lie to the claim that he was a mere adapter of Shera-



ton's designs, for while Sheraton loved straight lines and right angles, Phyfe was devoted to graceful and delicate curves. A few of his early chairs show straight legs, but for the most part his chair legs sweep outward in a concave curve of infinite grace. This is true not only of the later period, when it might have been explained on the ground of Empire influence, but of much of his earlier work. The chair backs, too, were curved gracefully backward, and the line of the stiles, seat, and front legs usually formed one continuous curve.

His sofas and settees show many of the characteristics of the chairs, with the same mastery of sweeping curve, exquisite proportion, and dainty detail, and with the lyre motif used frequently at the ends.

His tables are equally distinguished in design and workmanship. He made several types of dining tables, both extension and sectional, with the lyre frequently appearing in the pedestals. The same motif appears often on his smaller tables, but their more noticeable characteristic is the avoidance of straight lines in both tops and legs. The leaves are nearly always slightly rounded, with sometimes the clover-leaf pattern at the corners. The pedestals are often either crossed lyres or finely carved

pillars, to which are attached three or four legs, curving gracefully outward in the characteristic concave sweep. Phyfe certainly never copied this curve from his Georgian predecessors. He seldom if ever made a table with four vertical legs at the corners until after 1830.

A specialty of his was a card table standing on a tripod fitted with an internal mechanism which made it possible to move two of the legs outward and drop a leaf, so that the table could be placed close against the wall. These tables, which cost about $60 apiece, cannot be duplicated to-day for less than $75.

In the handling of mahogany to bring out its highest value of texture and color, Phyfe never had a superior. He loved the wood and was a master in the treatment of both carved and plain surfaces. He used no marquetry, no inlay of lighter woods, but frequently he placed most effectively an inlaid panel of crotch mahogany veneer on a surface of plainer wood. The result is at once elegant and restrained. His simple, plain moldings and reedings are clean-cut and fine. He was very fond of parallel rows of reeding along the legs of chairs and tables and the arms of chairs and sofas, which accentuate the curving lines and the effect of slender-

ness. His table drawers are often edged with a delicate, plain, rounded molding that is charming.

His simpler carving was executed with the utmost care and precision; his more elaborate work was a marvel of the art. The acanthus was a favorite motif on sofa legs, table pedestals, etc., and wheat ears, swags, and other classic details often appear on the backs of chairs and sofas, in low but sharp relief. This carving was always refined and well placed.

About 1805 Phyfe, like Sheraton, accepted the demand for brass mountings, but in spite of the onward sweep of the Empire vogue he kept his brasswork delicate and refined. He made lyre strings and drawer pulls of brass, and used brass lion paws for table feet.

Duncan Phyfe unquestionably exerted a restraining and corrective influence on American taste. Sir Purdon Clark, when director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, asserted that as a workman and designer Phyfe surpassed any of his British contemporaries. His best work was well-nigh perfect in line, proportion, and workmanship, and in its details and general design it displayed a character all its own. Moreover, he exhibited a remarkable knowledge of and feeling for the principles of classic art.

When and where he acquired this understanding

it would be difficult to say. He was only a boy when he reached this country, and he probably learned his trade in Albany. He could not have gained an extensive artistic education before he left Scotland.

In general, Phyfe's style throughout seems to be composed of three elements, skilfully commingled—the Adam-Sheraton, the Empire, and his own originality. His work undoubtedly was influenced by the Sheraton popularity and shows, probably unconsciously, some of the characteristics of the Scotch adaptation of Sheraton's style. Much more clearly marked, however, is Phyfe's kinship with his Scotch predecessors, Robert and James Adam. There are in existence Adam chairs which bear a close resemblance to Phyfe's. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, in England, there are two Adam chairs which are particularly interesting from this point of view. One has a lyre in its back, with brass strings, and the other shows the typical Phyfe sweep of curve along the stiles, seat, and front legs. Other authentic Adam chairs exhibit details more like those of Phyfe's early work than anything Sheraton did.

It is not unlikely that Phyfe owned books of both Adam and Sheraton designs from which he gleaned ideas while developing his own individual style.

A splendid example of medallion back Phyfe

Medallion back armchair, showing a slight

Gradually he added what he saw fit from the Empire, always avoiding excess in his new departures until the age of monstrosities had fully set in.

With a hundred men employed in Phyfe's shop it seems strange that so few pieces of his work have come down to us. But we know that his best furniture was made for a small and wealthy clientèle and it may be that most of his men were busy with some sort of inferior work not now connected with his name. Mr. Hagen spent years searching for authentic Phyfe furniture and it is not likely that he missed very much. Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey of New York has the largest, and in every way the finest, collection I have seen—some twenty chairs and fifteen other pieces. Mr. Dwight Blaney of Boston and other New York and New England collectors have acquired a few excellent pieces.

The pieces on view in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, unfortunately do not represent Phyfe's best work. The most notable piece is a sectional mahogany dining table, of unusual design, eleven feet six inches long by four feet ten inches wide. It is in excellent condition and was the bequest of Mrs. Maria P. James of Norwalk, Connecticut. It is in three sections, each standing on a four-legged base carved in acanthus patterns and

with brass lion's-paw feet. Accompanying this table there is a set of five lyre-back chairs.

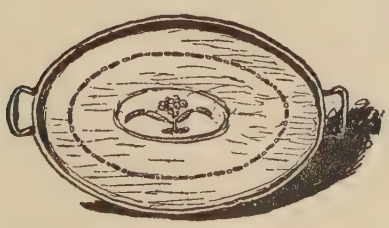
The museum also owns a smaller table of similar design, and an Empire cabinet has been loaned to the collection by Miss Anna P. Livingston. It is of fine mahogany veneer with glass doors and stands about six feet tall. If it is an authentic Phyfe piece, it represents his later Empire style.

Present-day values of Phyfe furniture depend entirely on how badly the collector wants them. Mr. Halsey has paid widely varying prices for his, his chairs averaging $100 apiece and his tables $200, but his are especially fine pieces. A fair value would be $75 for side chairs, $85 for arm chairs, and $100 for card tables, with the values of sofas and dining tables running up as high as $500. But as there is little likelihood of there being any extensive traffic in genuine Phyfe furniture, these figures have but little significance. Phyfe furniture is rarer—and finer, to my mind—than Chippendale's.

I don't know that any one has ever attempted to counterfeit Phyfe furniture. Perhaps the fakers have not realized its value. It was seldom marked with Phyfe's name, and other American Empire work has been palmed off occasionally as that of Duncan Phyfe. The collector's safeguard is an in-

timate knowledge of Phyfe's handiwork; no other American made anything comparable to it.

A reproduction is not an antique, and true collectors scorn reproductions; but authentic Phyfe pieces are so rare and his style so worthy of preservation that this sentiment should not be allowed to stand in the way of its perpetuation through the medium of fine reproductions. Only in this way can the work of our greatest American cabinet-maker be brought into modern American homes. Here is a great opportunity for American furniture manufacturers, provided they have the vision and skill to reproduce Phyfe's work and not murder the style by inferior execution.



CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN WINDSOR CHAIRS

THE Windsor chair, that graceful, honest product of eighteenth-century America, has at last come into its own. Time was when it was consigned to the porch or the kitchen, or even the garret, simply because it was not mahogany. And when at length the craze for everything old caused the Windsors to be brought out into the light of day, many a misguided owner sought to impart to them a false elegance by having them "done over" and given a "mahogany finish."

But the mahogany fetish is losing a little of its power over us and we are coming to appreciate other woods and painted furniture, provided it displays true grace of line, beauty of proportion, and the charm of quaintness.

The Windsor chair is nothing if not graceful; it is hard to find an ugly example. It is generally comfortable to sit in, which cannot be said of most

At the left, hoop-back armchair with carved arms, New Jersey type; center, a good example of New England loop-back armchair; right, the later and less graceful development of the same, with the bamboo style of turning and the arms joined to the loop, not of the same piece. Bolles Collection.

An unusually good pair of loop-back side chairs, owned by the author.

of its contemporaries. Its construction insures a most unusual combination of lightness and strength. Already the humble Windsor is frequently to be seen cheek-by-jowl with aristocratic Chippendales and Hepplewhites, and the variety of types offers a fascinating field for the collector. Furthermore, the Windsor chair, as we know it best, was a distinctly American product, and therefore makes a direct appeal to the growing interest in Americana.

For a full century the Windsor enjoyed widespread popularity in both England and America as the common, inexpensive, every-day chair of tavern, cottage, and farmhouse. The origin of both name and style is obscure. The oft-repeated legend has it that George II of England, while hunting near his castle at Windsor, was caught in a storm and sought shelter in a shepherd's hut. Here he found a chair, the like of which he had never seen before, which had been laboriously fashioned by the shepherd with his pocket knife. The King, greatly pleased with its grace and comfort, had it copied, and so the vogue of the Windsor began.

Like the story of Dr. Gibbon's mahogany candle-box and most others of this sort, the legend should not be taken too seriously. George II's reign began in 1727, and Windsors appeared in this country

very soon after that and were possibly made to some extent in England before 1725. It is quite probable, however, that the form was first conceived in some rural neighborhood, for everything about it suggests a humble origin. The Windsor chair, as we know it, was most likely the result of a gradual evolution, having its beginning somewhere in England during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and reaching its highest development in this country. For though the Windsor chair certainly achieved some popularity in England, it was in America that it enjoyed its widest vogue and underwent the greatest variation of form. English writers on old furniture pay scant attention to the Windsor, while no consideration of Americana would be complete without it.

The statement is commonly made that the vogue of the Windsor in America extended from 1725 to 1825. It is possible that there may have been some English Windsors here as early as 1725, but I have been unable to discover any authentic evidence to prove it. Dr. Irving Whitall Lyon, author of "The Colonial Furniture of New England," published in 1891, and the pioneer investigator in this field, made a careful study of this subject. The earliest reference he found to Windsor chairs was in the will of

Governor Patrick Gordon of Pennsylvania, who died in 1736 and in whose inventory five Windsor chairs were mentioned. Governor Gordon came from England to Philadelphia in 1726, bringing his household goods with him, and it is quite possible that the Windsors may have been among them. Windsors are also mentioned in the will of Hannah Hodge, widow, of Philadelphia, who died July 7, 1736.

After that date references to Windsor chairs became more and more frequent, and by 1745 they had apparently become popular in Philadelphia and their local manufacture may have begun as early as that. By 1760 the vogue for Windsors was in full swing.

The earliest mention of Windsors in New York was found in the inventory of Abraham Lodge, attorney, who died June 8, 1758. Soon afterward Philadelphia-made Windsors were advertised in New York newspapers. They rapidly became fashionable in New York, supplanting the old rush-bottomed slat-back and bannister-back chairs in popularity, and in a few years more were being manufactured there.

Windsor chairs were not made in Boston till about 1786, but were sent there from Philadelphia or New York. In 1769 two Windsors were appraised at six

shillings each in the inventory of Captain Daniel Malcolm of Boston, and in 1773 two at ten shillings in the inventory of Samuel Parker. *The Independent Chronicle* of Boston for December 29, 1785, contained an advertisement of Philadelphia Windsors on sale at "Messrs. Skillin's carver's shop near Gov. Hancock's wharf." In the same paper on April 13, 1786, appeared woodcuts of two Windsor chairs in an advertisement of Ebenezer Stone's shop —"Green Windsor chairs of all kinds equal to any imported from Philadelphia. Chairs taken in and painted."

There was no single maker of Windsor chairs whose name stands out preëminent like that of Duncan Phyfe, and though Philadelphia was first in the field and remained the center of the industry, the manufacture of Windsors was confined to no single locality. Like clock cases, they were made by almost every village cabinet-maker. In the cities they were advertised by nearly all chairmakers, but there were a number of specialists who made nothing but Windsors.

In 1773 Jedediah Snowden advertised domestic Windsors in the Philadelphia *Journal.* In the Philadelphia Directory of 1785 the names of eleven Windsor chairmakers appear, besides half a dozen

Extension armchairs, Bolles Collection. At the left, an unusually tall hoop-back; center, fan-back or comb-back armchair, with scroll ears, New Jersey style; right, a more graceful form of the same with carved arms.

At the left, a hoop-back armchair from Massachusetts, with plain arms, owned by the author; right, writing-chair in the Bolles Collection, like a low-back Windsor with comb-back extension.

other chairmakers and a number of cabinetmakers.

The manufacture of Windsor chairs in Philadelphia, however, must have begun at least as early as 1760, for in 1763 Perry Hayes & Sherbroke in New York advertised "Philadelphia-made Windsor chairs."

In 1768 a joiner in Prince Street, New York, advertised "Windsor chairs made and sold by William Gautier. High-backed, Low-backed, Sack-backed, and settees, also dining and low chairs." In the New York *Gazetteer* of February 17, 1774, Thomas Ash, of Broadway, advertised an extensive line of Windsors. The first New York City Directory, published in 1786, gives the names of Thomas Ash and Lecock & Intle as Windsor chairmakers, besides several other chairmakers. In the New York Directory of 1789 appear the names of nine Windsor chairmakers and ten other chairmakers.

By this time there were several makers of Windsor chairs in Boston, while the Baltimore Directory of 1796 gives the names of six Windsor chairmakers besides the other manufacturers of furniture.

In Salem, Massachusetts, Samuel Phippen was making Windsors in the '80's. In 1786 Stacy Stackbone, according to an advertisement in the

Connecticut Courant for January 30 of that year, moved from New York and engaged in the manufacture of Windsor chairs in Hartford, near the State House. The New Haven *Gazette* for February 22, 1787, shows a woodcut of Windsor chairs and the advertisement of Alpheus Hews from New Jersey, maker of Windsor chairs and settees, garden chairs, and children's chairs, on Chapel Street. According to the *Connecticut Gazette* of November 14, 1788, William Harris, Jr., was making Windsors in New London. The *United States Chronicle* of Providence, R. I., printed on July 19, 1787, the advertisement of Daniel Lawrence—"Windsor chairs. Neat, elegant, and strong, beautifully painted after the Philadelphia mode, warranted of good seasoned materials so firmly put together as not to deceive the Purchaser by an untimely coming to Pieces."

The foregoing references indicate the extent to which the industry had grown a few years after the Revolutionary War. The major portion of the Windsors found to-day are of that period. The fashion declined soon after 1800, though Windsors were made and sold in considerable quantities for twenty years thereafter, special advertisements appearing in New York papers as late as 1818.

Windsor chairs were never made of the more ele-

At the left, New England loop-back armchair, with comb-back extension, back braces, and bamboo turning; center, a very late and awkward development of the comb-back rocker; right, child's comb-back or fan-back armchair, New Jersey style. Bolles Collection.

At the left, a good example of the fan-back side chair, New Jersey style; right, fan-back armchair, New Jersey style, like a low-back Windsor with fan-back extension. Bolles Collection.

gant cabinet woods, and it is a mistake to have them so treated in renovation. They were usually made of two or three kinds of wood in the same piece—the hoop of the back of hickory; spindles and arms ash or hickory; legs oak, hickory, or maple; seats pine, whitewood, beech, etc.

Windsors were almost invariably painted. Green seems to have been the popular color at first—usually dark green or apple green—but black chairs are to be found to-day more often than green. Some were undoubtedly painted to suit the purchaser—usually red or yellow. Of course it is not uncommon to find several coats of paint on old specimens, black frequently hiding the original red or green. I have never known of a Windsor that was originally painted white and doubt if they were ever finished natural in this country. Occasionally a simple decoration is to be found, such as a line of yellow on the black, but that was usually a later addition.

Though American Windsor chairs vary widely in form, from the loop-back side chair to the comb-back rocker, their type characteristics are unmistakable. The most noticeable of these are the slender, round, upright spokes or spindles in the backs, varying in number but in general presenting the effect of a graceful outline filled with parallel lines. The

chair backs are slanted backward, are straight from top to seat, and curved laterally to fit the back. The arms of the armchairs also slant outward.

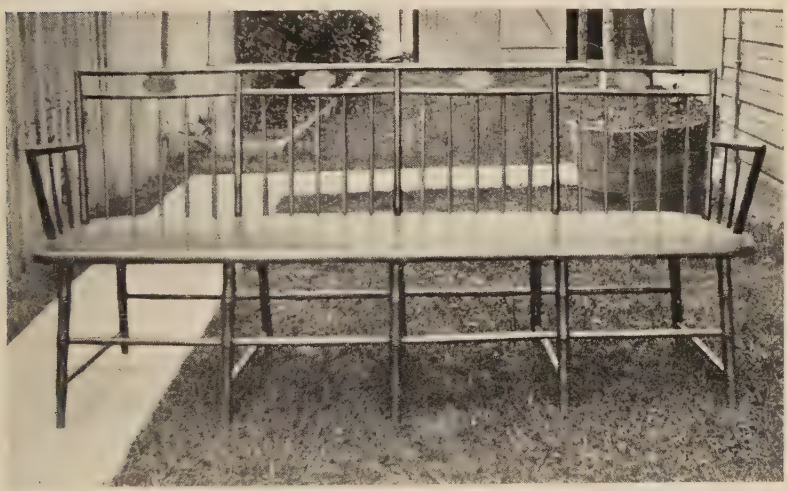
The spindles are tapering or slightly bulging on the best examples; straight, cylindrical, and less slender on the poorer ones. The outer spindles of the arms and of the backs of the fan-back chairs were turned more or less elaborately on a lathe; the hickory spindles were usually not turned, but cut out with a spokeshave and rounded with a file, so that they present a pleasing lack of absolute uniformity.

The seats were made of a single piece of plank, varying somewhat in outline, and hollowed out more or less in the fashion known as saddle-seat.

All this shaping, curving, and outward slanting made for both grace and comfort. The placing of the legs was a matter of strength as well as design. They were set into the seats at some little distance in from the corners and were sharply raked or slanted outwards, the feet in the best examples extending beyond the line of the seat. The legs were lathe turned, usually in vase forms. The tendency in some of the later work to reduce all the turning to a conventionalized bamboo pattern indicates a lazy habit in the maker.

The underbracing consists almost invariably of

Typical English Windsors with pierced splats. Compare the lines and proportions with those of American chairs.



A good example of the late Windsor settee from Pennsylvania. Owned by Mr. David B. Missemer.

three bulb-turned pieces, two connecting the front with the back legs, and the third joining these two at the middle.

In general, though light and airy in appearance, the Windsor chair is exceedingly strong and well braced. The spindles were driven into holes in the seat and fitted into holes in the hoop or the arms at the top. The legs were driven clear through the seats, secured by means of fox wedges, and shaved off flush, the underbraces having first been fitted. The result is a rigidity of construction that has, in a multitude of cases, defied dampness, steam heat, and the weight of a century. Windsor chairs were obviously hand-made, a fact which marks them, in the eyes of those who appreciate form and the evidences of true craftsmanship, as far superior to later imitations and modern machine-made spindle-back chairs of all sorts.

A careful analysis of Windsor forms has never, to my knowledge, appeared in print. In fact, the only man I know of who has made an analytical study of the subject is Mr. J. B. Kerfoot, who has accumulated a large and interesting collection of Windsors at his home in Freehold, New Jersey. I am indebted to him for the suggestions leading to the following classification, which, though brief and incom-

plete, may serve to clarify our somewhat jumbled notions regarding Windsors and may perhaps lead some enthusiast further into a fascinating field of investigation.

American Windsors may be divided roughly into three groups—New Jersey, New England, and Pennsylvania German. The New Jersey group includes the work of the prolific Philadelphia makers which found its chief market in New Jersey rather than in Pennsylvania. The chairs made in Trenton follow the Philadelphia lines, as, in fact, do a good many of those made in New York. The New England types, which found their way often into New York State, display, in the main, certain common characteristics, in spite of the differences to be found between the work of the makers of Connecticut and of eastern Massachusetts. The chairs found on Long Island belong more often to the Connecticut than to the New Jersey group.

American Windsors may again be arranged in seven general classes: (1) the New England or loop-back side hair; (2) the New England or loop-back armchair; (3) the hoop-back armchair; (4) the fan-back; (5) the comb-back; (6) the low-back; (7) the miscellaneous variations. There has been a considerable confusion of terms in all writing on

this subject; I propose to employ those which seem most definitely descriptive. The term loop-back, I must confess, is my own invention.

The first type is the simple side chair, with shaped seat and with the outline of the back in the form of a loop. It is the commonest type to be found in New England and on Long Island to-day, but is infrequently seen in New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

The second is simply the armchair of this species, with the loop carried forward to form the arms. This, also, was a New England product and is one of the most graceful of all the Windsors, though not as strong as the extension or hoop-back form. It is also known, in some localities, as the fiddle-string armchair. In a later form the loop is carried to the seat as in the side chair and the arms are set on at right angles.

The hoop-back is the commonest and most useful of the armchairs. The back is cut in two horizontally by a semi-circular piece which, extending forward, forms the arms. From this a hoop-shaped piece, usually round, extends upward, forming the top of the back. The spindles pass through holes in the middle piece, joining the hoop to the seat.

This form apparently originated in Philadelphia and belongs to the New Jersey group, being intro-

duced into New England later. It was perhaps the kind which Gautier advertised as sack-backed. In the majority of cases the ends of the arms are flat and merely rounded off, but the most valuable examples have the ends carved in a scroll resembling a closed hand. It is doubtful if this carved form was ever made in New England, though probably imported there from Philadelphia. There is, in fact, a considerable variation in this one type, particularly in the height of the hoop.

At some time after the middle of the nineteenth century the hoop-back Windsor was revived in Philadelphia and large numbers were made and sold, especially as office chairs. But the form was heavier and is easily distinguished. Most of the modern reproductions are also of this type.

The fan-backs have a horizontal curved or bow-shaped piece at the top, from which the spindles slant slightly inward toward the seat, the outer ones being heavier and turned. The top piece extends slightly beyond these and ends in curved ears which, generally speaking, were made plain in New England and were carved in the form of a scroll in Philadelphia and New Jersey. Arms are occasionally found on fan-back chairs, with a dividing piece as in the hoop-backs.

Examples of late Pennsylvania forms, owned by Mr. D. B. Missemer.

A good example of the low-back Windsor, owned by Mr. Renwick C. Hurry.

The comb-back Windsor is simply one of the other forms with a head-rest added in the form of a miniature fan-back, or like an old-fashioned back-comb. This type seems to have been confined to no single section.

The least graceful form of the Windsor, but one of the oldest, is the low-back. In this a single, heavy, semi-circular piece forms the arms and the top of the back on the same level, much as in the round-about chair. Sometimes the back is raised an inch or two by the addition of another piece. The seat is broad and the whole effect squatty. A variation of the low-back has the addition of a fan-back, rarely a hoop-back, extension above, which scarcely adds to its beauty. There is some reason for believing that the commoner hoop-back armchair was a development of this variation.

All other forms are merely local departures from these. Sometimes on both fan-back and loop-back chairs, a portion of the seat is extended back a few inches, from which two divergent spindles extend to the top of the back, as braces, adding at once to the strength and the attractiveness of the chair. Occasionally a broad rest is added to the right-hand arm of one of the armchairs, forming a writing-chair. Sometimes there is a drawer in this rest, and one

under the seat, and often an additional rest for a candle.

The Pennsylvania group includes most of the Philadelphia or New Jersey forms and some others, rendered somewhat heavier and occasionally more ornate to suit the tastes of the Pennsylvania Germans of that day. The ears of the fan-backs, for example, are sometimes quite fanciful, while some fan-backs found near Manheim show no ears at all, but merely a sharp angle.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the styles underwent radical changes, various rectangular forms being developed in spindle-back chairs and settees.

The history of the rocking-chair is yet to be written. According to some writers rockers began to appear in this country before 1750, and Windsor rockers soon after the Revolution. Others assert that Windsor rocking-chairs were not made until about 1810 and that most of the so-called Windsor rocking-chairs are simply old armchairs cut down and fitted with rockers. Certainly none of the early advertisements or inventories included any mention of rocking-chairs.

The first rockers were merely short boards cut straight across the top and rounded on the bottom.

Then the top side was shaped, and later the rocker was fashioned much as that of to-day, except that it extended only four or five inches back of the rear legs. It was not until 1820 or so that the discovery was made that rockers lengthened behind increased the safety and comfort of the chair. During the decade following that astonishing discovery the popularity of the rocking-chair spread rapidly. Windsor rockers were made which soon developed into a variety of special rocking-chair forms, including the famous Boston rocker.

The styles of the middle period of Windsor chairmaking extended well into the nineteenth century, and with so little change that it is not often possible to judge of the exact age of a chair by its style. The cruder workmanship of a rural chairmaker often lends a false suggestion of greater age. But a study of the styles is interesting for its own sake, and there are fascinating by-paths of research open to the investigator that I have not even touched upon, such as the various patterns in turning, the grooves at the back of the seats, etc., all of them indications of individuality and offering possible clues to the identity of the makers.

If space permitted, an interesting chapter could be written about the history of famous Windsors—

of the writing-chair with revolving seat, now owned by the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, in which Thomas Jefferson is said to have signed or written the Declaration of Independence; of Washington's writing-chair and fan-back armchair and the thirty Windsors that stood on the veranda at Mount Vernon; of Rev. Ezra Ripley's comb-back writing-chair, afterwards used by Ralph Waldo Emerson and by Nathaniel Hawthorne, and now owned by the Concord Antiquarian Society, together with a number of other historic Windsors.

Just a word in passing regarding the English Windsors. Those most commonly seen have the familiar rounded back and spindles, but with a pierced splat in the center of the back. While not all English Windsors had this splat, it is one of the distinguishing marks, for it was never, so far as I have discovered, used by American makers. But we do not need to depend upon that. The whole effect of the English chair is heavier and less graceful. The back is less pleasantly loop-shaped; the legs are more nearly perpendicular and are set nearer to the corners of the seats; the underbraces are placed higher than on American-made Windsors. Nevertheless, English Windsors are enjoying somewhat of a vogue among American collectors and are being

At the left, comb-back rocker, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth H. Marks; right, child's hoop-back rocker and Pennsylvania fan-back side chair, owned by Mr. D. B. Missemer.

Hoop-back armchair with rockers added and a late form of Windsor rocker, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth H. Marks.

brought over in considerable quantities. Some of them are undoubtedly very fine in design and superior in finish to the American chairs, but generally they exhibit less evidence of imagination and feeling for form.

The English chairs include the prototypes of our loop-back side chairs, hoop-back armchairs, and low-back Windsors, with and without the fan-back extension. The American makers developed more variations than did the English, and, in the main, improved upon their designs.

These English Windsors can be picked up in Great Britain at £1 to £5 each, sometimes in sets of six or more; in this country they are worth $25 to $50 apiece. Not long ago a New York dealer asked $100 for an English Windsor with the three royal plumes in the splat, and got his price.

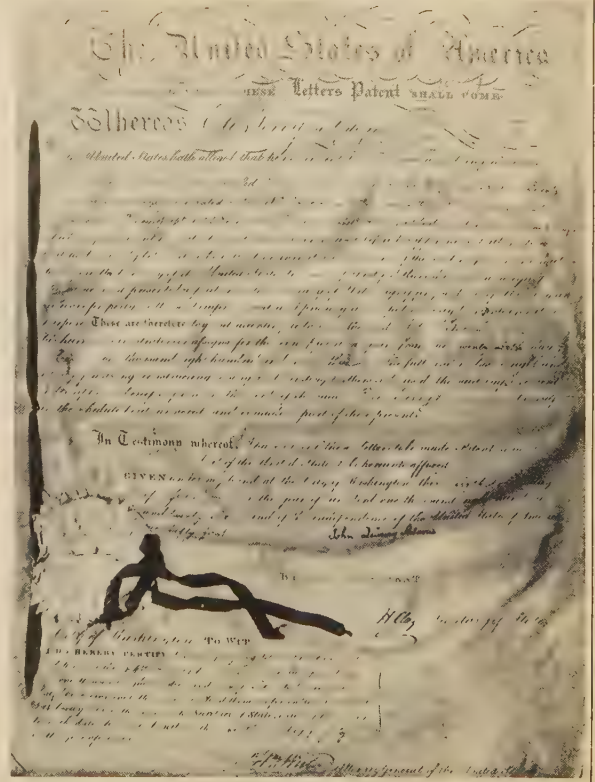
In spite of the recent awakening of interest in American Windsors, so many of them have been discovered and placed on the market that the values have dropped rather than increased, except on the rarer forms.

The low-backed Windsors have been bringing higher prices than they deserve. At a recent sale at the American Art Association galleries, New York, $57.50 was paid for a low-back, while a neighbor of

mine picked up almost the duplicate of it on Long Island for $1.50.

Statements made to me by various collectors and dealers have led me to the following conclusions as to present values: New England loop-back side chairs are considered worth from $8 to $10 apiece, according to style. My own pair I got at an auction in Hempstead, Long Island, for $1.35, and I am inclined to think the above figures too high. Fan-back side chairs are worth $10 to $12, according to some collectors; armchairs of various sorts, $10 to $15; the rarer or more graceful forms would doubtless bring $20 or $25, and comb-backs $35 or $40. The later variations of the Windsor are worth $5 or $10 apiece, and settees $15 to $25. Dealers in cities like New York ask—and obtain—rather higher prices than these.

A rather more detailed schedule of values has been furnished me by a Windsor collector of long experience and conservative tendencies. Much depends, he says, on style and finish, on the location of the piece in relation to ready markets, etc. The following he considers fair dealers' selling prices for good specimens of the principal types of Windsors:



Eli Terry, from a portrait painted between 1800 and 1810. To the right, patent issued to Eli Terry in 1826 and now owned by Mr. Dwight H. Terry, Plymouth, Conn.

Common New England loop-back side chairs,	$ 3.	
Very fine loop-backs,	5.	
The same with back braces,	15.	
New England loop-back armchairs,	15.	
The same, with back braces,	25.	
New England fan-backs,	7.50	
Finer examples of the same	10.	to 15.
The same, with back braces,	25.	to 40.
Plain Jersey fan-backs,	15.	
Comb-backs, all sorts,	30.	to 60.

The Windsor chair is one of the few things still to be picked up about the countryside by the sharp-eyed collector, and he can afford to be a bit discriminating. Let him look for deep and well designed turning, for widely raked legs, for side chairs with the seats well shaped and cut in deeply at the sides, for just the right slant to back and arms, and for grace of line and proportion. These are the things that count in the Windsor chair.

CHAPTER V

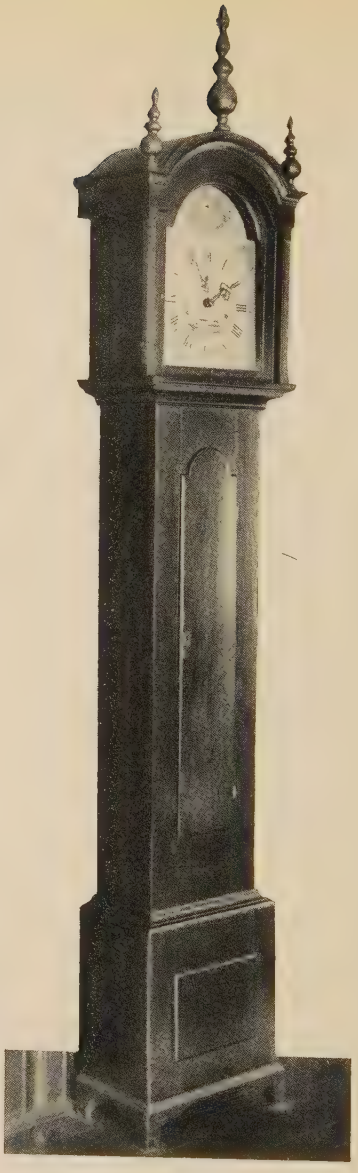
THE CLOCKMAKERS OF CONNECTICUT

A HUNDRED years ago there lived and worked in the State of Connecticut a little group of clockmakers who were destined to leave a distinct impress on the industrial history of their country. Through their native ingenuity they discovered how to make clocks inexpensively and so to place them in large numbers within the reach of our growing population.

Austere, industrious, shrewd old Yankees were these clockmakers of Connecticut, for the most part self-made men, achieving success through the Puritan virtues of perseverance, long-headedness, and sobriety. Their work was excellent mechanically and by no means lacking in a certain quaint artistic charm.

While clocks were made in Connecticut as early as the middle of the eighteenth century and perhaps before that, it was not until after the Revolutionary

Clock made by Daniel Burnap in 1799. Now owned by Miss Mary W. Andrews, Hartford, Conn.



Tall clock made by Silas Hoadley after 1814, with a painted metal dial bearing the maker's name.

War that the industry reached noteworthy proportions. The group about whom interest centers worked chiefly in Litchfield County and consists of a line of teachers and pupils beginning with Thomas Harland and running down to the sons of Eli Terry and Seth Thomas.

Harland learned his trade in England and came to Boston in 1773 in the ship from which the tea was thrown overboard in Boston Harbor. Very likely he and Paul Revere brushed elbows on Beacon Hill. He settled in Norwich, Connecticut, later in the same year and opened a clockmaking shop which he conducted until his death in 1807. Here he made "spring, musical, and plain clocks; church clocks; regulators, etc.," and engraved and finished clock faces for the trade. His clocks, like most others of the period, had brass works, with a pendulum forty inches long, swinging every second. They were made to stand in cases about six feet tall, though sometimes they were hung without cases and were then called wag-on-the-wall clocks. It was customary for peddlers about the country to sell these clocks without cases, the latter often being built by local cabinet-makers. The cases, therefore, vary widely and are seldom an indication of the make of the works.

Harland's fame as a master clockmaker spread throughout the Colonies and he received into his shop numerous apprentices who subsequently went forth to ply their trade in various parts of New England. One of these apprentices was Eli Terry, who became, with the possible exception of Seth Thomas, the most famous clockmaker in Connecticut.

Another early clockmaker who should be mentioned at this point was Daniel Burnap. Very little is known about him except that he made clocks between 1780 and 1800 at Andover, Massachusetts, and at Hartford, Plymouth, and East Windsor, Connecticut. His clocks had tall cases and brass works, and often moon phases and calendar attachments. He was a skilled engraver, and his silvered dials were often beautifully etched. One characteristic of Burnap's clock faces was the absence of spandrels at the corners. It was from him that Eli Terry is said to have learned the art of engraving.

"The man above all others in his day for the wood clock was Eli Terry," writes Chauncey Jerome in his "History of the American Clock Business," published in 1860, when Jerome was sixty-seven years old. Terry was born April 13, 1772, at East Windsor, now South Windsor, Connecticut. He was an ingenious youth and he made a few old-

fashioned, hang-up clocks before he was twenty-one.

It was probably during his apprenticeship to Harland and Burnap, or immediately after, that he built his first tall clock, in 1792. The case was graceful but not elaborate, and the silvered dial was engraved with his name. This clock is now owned by his descendants and is still running.

In 1793 he moved to Northbury, then part of Watertown, and began the manufacture of clocks on his own account. Here he married Eunice Warner, who died December 15, 1839, and by whom he had nine children. In November, 1840, he married Harriet Peck, a widow, who bore him two sons.

At first business was dull in Northbury, and Terry eked out a living by repairing clocks and watches, engraving on metal, and selling spectacles. His first clocks were made by hand, partly with jack-knife and saw, and partly by means of a hand engine for cutting the wheels. Later he introduced water power into his shop, being the first clockmaker to make the venture.

His first clocks were made with both brass and wooden works and sold for about $25 apiece for the movement and dial alone. But he soon discontinued the brass works, finding the wood as reliable

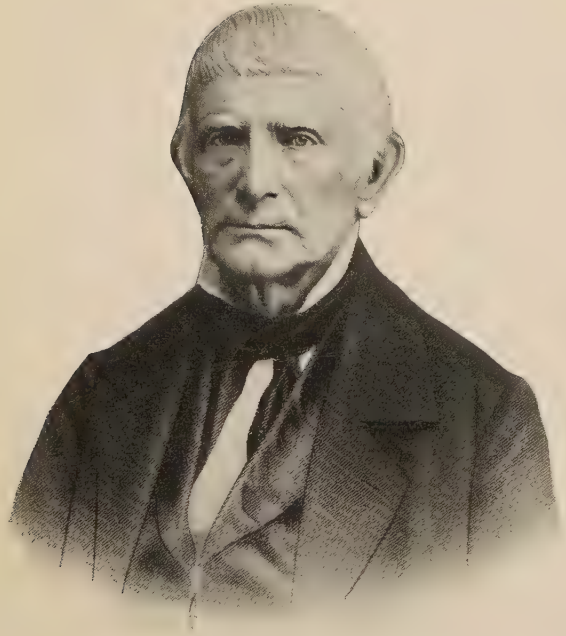
and, because cheaper, more salable. Some of these early clocks had silver-washed brass dials.

Probably the first clock patent ever issued in this country was taken out by Terry in 1797. In that year he also invented a clock registering the difference between mean and apparent time.

About 1800 he engaged two assistants and began to start his clocks a dozen at a time. Two or three times a year he started out with horse and wagon and peddled them about the country. Tall clocks were then selling at prices ranging from $18 to $70. The higher priced ones had a dial and hand for seconds, displayed the moon's phases, and included handsome cases.

Early in 1807 Terry sold his old plant to Heman Clark, an apprentice, and bought an old mill, with water power, at Greystone, in the southern part of Plymouth. He obtained a contract from a firm in Waterbury to deliver 4,000 clocks in three years at $4 apiece. They were to be 30-hour clocks, with wooden works, one-second pendulum, dial and hands included, the purchasers furnishing the materials.

It was a big undertaking in those days, but Terry carried it through successfully and it marked the beginning of his prosperity. In 1808 he made the first



Seth Thomas. From a steel engraving in "The History of Litchfield County."

Silas Hoadley. From a portrait owned by Carleton E. Hoadley, Esq., New Haven, Conn.

500 of these clocks—the largest number ever started at one time in one shop.

By 1809 the business was the largest in the country. In 1810 Terry sold out to two of his employees, Seth Thomas and Silas Hoadley, and removed to Plymouth Hollow.

By this time the price for the ordinary wooden clock works had dropped to $10 and finally to $5, and Terry began to cast about for a new line.

Most of the clocks of that day were either eight-day brass clocks or thirty-hour wooden clocks, with pendulums beating the seconds. A few thirty-hour brass clocks were made with a shorter pendulum, beating half seconds. These were fairly expensive, and because they were adapted to short cases were called shelf clocks.

While at work on his three-year contract, Terry conceived the idea of a thirty-hour wooden clock with half-seconds pendulum, which would be much cheaper than the brass shelf clocks. He made several hundred of these clocks without dials, but with the figures painted on the glass front.

But Terry was not satisfied with this clock and discontinued its manufacture after a year. It was not until 1814 that he perfected a shelf clock to his satisfaction. The new movement included several

radically new inventions making for economy of space. It revolutionized the clock-making industry and sounded the knell of the more costly brass shelf clocks. The new type of works was not patented. It was taken up rapidly by other makers and remained in vogue for twenty-five years until the use of sheet metal came in about 1837.

In connection with the new movement Terry introduced in 1814 his "pillar and scroll-top case," which he patented. It was a rectangular case, about twenty-five inches high, with small feet and a top cut in a scroll pattern. At the sides of the front were small round pillars, twenty-one inches long, three-fourths of an inch in diameter at the bottom and three-eighths at the top, resting on a square base and surmounted by a turned cap. The dial was about eleven inches across, with a panel below painted on glass. Spandrels were painted at the corners of the face.

This clock became at once immensely popular. Seth Thomas paid $1,000 for the right to manufacture it, and he and Terry each made about $6,000 the first year. Later the output was doubled. The retail price was $15 each.

In addition to this clock, Terry made other mantel clocks, both plain and elegant. He also

Tall clock made by Eli Terry in 1794. Now owned by Mr. A. C. Bunnell, Ridley Park, Pa.

An early tall clock with wooden works made by Terry. Owned by Mrs. James W. Cook of Providence.

made brass works, adjusted with extreme care, which he sold as regulators to watchmakers for $100 to $200 each.

Tower clocks were also part of his trade. These were of excellent quality, as a rule, and were affected as little as possible by the weather. Most of them were operated by separate sets of weights for chronometer, dial wheels, and striker. The clock which is still telling time from the gable of the Congregational Church in Terryville is said to have been the first of Terry's tower clocks. It was a gift to the church, which was built in 1835.

Another tower clock was built by Terry for the city of New Haven. It was placed in the Centre Church on the Green. It told the mean time while the Yale College clock told apparent time. This led to confusion and a lively controversy.

In 1830 Terry invented a new form of gravity escapement, and he continued active as an inventor and designer the rest of his life. It is not too much to say of him that this shrewd, ingenious Yankee did as much toward the advancement of clockmaking as any other one man in history. At least, he was the father of the modern cheap clock which Seth Thomas did so much to popularize.

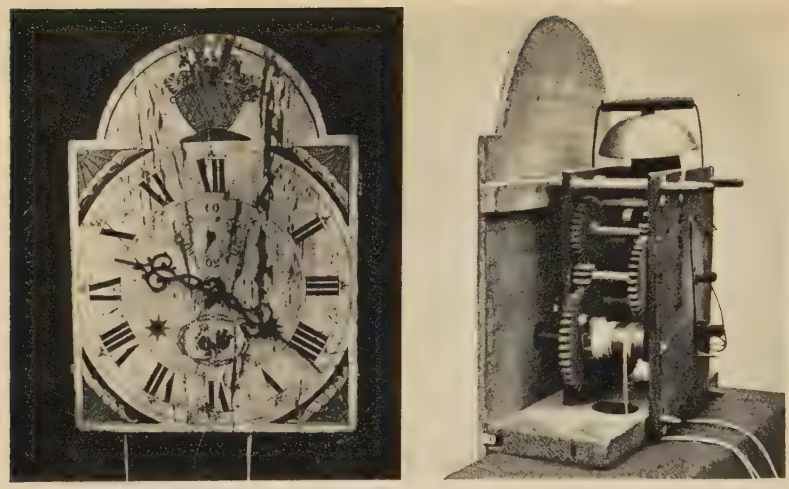
In 1838 and 1839 Terry built two houses in that

portion of Plymouth which later became known as Terryville. In one of these he lived until his death, which occurred on February 24, 1852, at the age of eighty.

In 1814, when Terry started his big contract he took two of his sons in with him and taught them the trade. Henry continued the business at Plymouth Hollow until about 1840, when he turned to the manufacture of woolen goods. The other son, Eli, Jr., started a shop of his own in 1826, when he was twenty-five, and became the wealthy and honored founder of Terryville. A third son, Silas, was less successful in a business way, but was nearly as great an inventor as his father.

Seth Thomas, who was even more of a self-made man than Eli Terry, was born at Wolcott, Connecticut, August 19, 1785, the son of James and Martha Thomas. His education was limited to the meager advantages of the district school, and while still a youth he served his apprenticeship as carpenter and joiner. For a time he worked on the construction of the long wharf at New Haven.

When he became of age he returned to Litchfield County with his kit of tools and a small sum of money. He soon found work as a joiner in Eli Terry's factory, making clock cases and later assem-



Face and works of an early wooden clock by Eli Terry.

A good example of the pillar-and-scroll-top style made by both Terry and Thomas.

A later type of shelf clock made by Seth Thomas. Owned by Mr. L. A. Klein, Ridley Park, Pa.

bling wooden works. By 1808 he had risen to the position of foreman of the case shop.

Prior to this time clockmaking had been an individual trade, like that of the village cobbler. In 1810, after buying out Terry's interest, Thomas & Hoadley continued in the manufacture of tall clocks. In 1812 or 1813 Hoadley bought Thomas out and the latter moved to Plymouth Hollow, in the western part of the town, and engaged in the manufacture of brass-movement clocks on his own account. This business grew from twenty to nine hundred operatives, and in 1853 Thomas, having made a fortune, incorporated the Seth Thomas Clock Company which is to-day doing a world-wide business. He also built a cotton mill and a brass rolling and wire mill.

Seth Thomas was a solid, Puritanical character, a staunch Whig, and a prominent member of the Congregational Church. He was twice married—to Philena Tuttle on April 20, 1808, who died March 12, 1810, and to Laura Andrews on April 14, 1811, who survived him. He was the father of nine children, three of whom died in childhood.

Seth Thomas died at Plymouth Hollow on January 29, 1859. Shortly after, that portion of the town was named Thomaston by act of Legislature.

The business was incorporated, with his sons, Aaron and Seth, Jr., as officers. They enlarged the factory and broadened the business. Later the factory, under the guidance of Seth E. Thomas, son of Seth Thomas, Jr., made every kind of timepiece from a watch to a tower clock, and sent them all over the world.

Silas Hoadley was born at Bethany, Connecticut, on January 31, 1786. Like Thomas, his education was meager and he was bound out at an early age as apprentice to his uncle, Calvin Hoadley, who taught him the trade of carpenter, which he followed till 1809, when he entered the Terry shop as a joiner.

After the final dissolution of the partnership in 1814, Hoadley continued the works at Greystone, Plymouth, until about 1849. He made both mantel and tall clocks, the former in limited quantities, apparently. His tall clock cases, while not as ornamental as those of some other clockmakers, were always tasteful and well proportioned, and compare favorably with anything Terry or Thomas ever did. In spite of the fact that he was in business for himself for some thirty-five years, his clocks to-day are very rare.

Though not possessing the inventive genius of Terry and Thomas, Hoadley was a good business

man and prospered. He was a prominent citizen of the town, an active Episcopalian churchman, and a high Mason. He was a Democrat and was three times elected to the State Assembly and once, in 1844, to the State Senate. He died at Plymouth December 28, 1870, leaving five children.

Another important figure in the Connecticut clock industry, though the years of his chief activity extend well into the nineteenth century, was Chauncey Jerome. In 1860 he published the story of his own life, in connection with his "History of the American Clock Business," and an interesting story it is.

He, too, was a lad of small schooling but marked native ability. He was born at Canaan, Connecticut, June 10, 1793, the son of a poor farmer and blacksmith and one of six children. In 1797 the family moved to Plymouth, where the father set up a blacksmith shop and engaged in the manufacture of handwrought iron nails. Until he was nine years old Chauncey worked on the farm, with the exception of three months in the winter, when he went to school. Then he went to work in his father's shop until the latter's death in 1804.

From then until he was fourteen young Chauncey worked for different farmers and suffered many hardships. In 1807 he was bound out to a carpenter

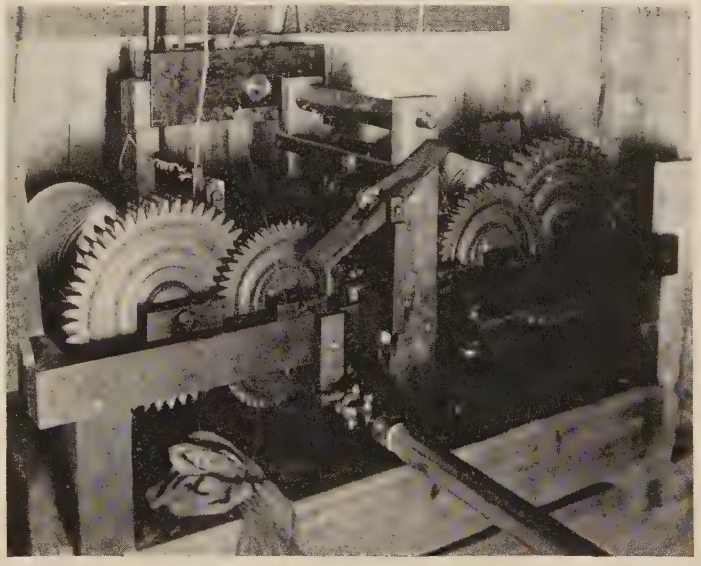
until he was twenty-one, working for his board and clothes.

He became fascinated with the idea of learning the clockmaking trade, but his guardian would not permit it, saying that Terry was a visionary fool. But Chauncey persisted and in 1811 made a bargain with his master, whereby he was allowed to have four months to himself each winter if he would buy all his own clothes.

The first winter he went to Waterbury to work for one Lewis Stebbins, who taught him the art of making dials and clock cases. The following winter he was engaged by a Plymouth clockmaker named Hotchkiss to go to New Jersey to make cases for works that Hotchkiss had previously sold there. Two peddlers went with him to sell more works. It was a wonderful journey, made in a lumber wagon, and the venture was reasonably successful.

Jerome volunteered for service in the War of 1812, and after that, for several years, experienced the privations of poverty. At the age of twenty-one he became his own master and secured work at wages of $20 a month, on which he married. It was in that year that he bought his first pair of boots. Hard times continued until 1816, when he went to work for Eli Terry, making the new shelf clocks. Terry

Congregational Church, Terryville, Conn. The clock was made by Eli Terry in 1835.



The original works, with their wooden wheels, remain in the Terryville church clock, but are now regulated by an electrical connection.

began to install circular saws and other machinery, and Jerome learned to use these in the making of clock cases.

In 1818 Jerome started in business for himself in a small way, buying clock works in Plymouth and making mahogany cases for them. An order came at last from the South for a number of clocks at $12 each, and Jerome delivered them himself. This was the turning point in his fortunes, and in 1821 he was able to move to Bristol and set up a new business. In 1822 he engaged a clockmaker—Chauncey Boardman—to make brass works for him, and in 1824 he formed, with Nobles Jerome and Elijah Darrow, the firm of Jeromes & Darrow. In this year he exported the first clock sent from this country to England.

Success followed, but Jerome's later history scarcely belongs within the period of old clocks, which ended about 1837. He introduced new machinery and cheapened the cost of manufacture until he was able to make clocks for $2 and even $1. In 1844 he moved to New Haven, where his concern made 600 clocks a day, or 200,000 a year. His retirement followed, then the loss of money by his partners, and a new start in life at the age of seventy as superintendent of a Chicago factory. Jerome's

life displays remarkable evidences of strict integrity and Spartan courage.

Besides those clockmakers whose names have been mentioned, there were others at work in Connecticut who are entitled at least to passing notice. Isaac Doolittle, a clockmaker, lived in New Haven from 1748 to 1810. In Hartford, Enos Doolittle was making clocks about 1772, including some very handsome ones in cherry cases, with dials and hoods more elaborate than those of Terry or Thomas. In 1783 a patent was issued to Benjamin Hanks of Litchfield for a self-winding clock. Silas Merriam and Timothy Peck of Litchfield were at work about 1790, and Benjamin Cheney in Manchester about 1780. James Harrison was a successful clockmaker at Waterbury; he sold his first clock in 1791 for about $16.50. In Bristol, Joseph, Chauncey, and Lawson Ives were contemporary with Jerome; Joseph invented an eight-day brass clock about 1818, which Lawson later manufactured for about $20. Other prominent Connecticut clockmakers of the early nineteenth century were Joseph Clark of Danbury, Heman Clark of Plymouth Hollow, Daniel Clark of Waterbury, Asa Hopkins of Litchfield, who invented several improvements in clock-making machinery, and others.

There was something solid and admirable in the characters of this group of old Yankees that makes them good to consider. They represent so completely the sterling traits of their period and give us such a clear idea of the sort of men that built up the early industries of this country. And apparently their thrift and mechanical ingenuity did not exclude all feeling for the beautiful, for some of their designs are not without artistic merit, and all are quaintly original.

Clocks of all these makers are still to be found, but those of Terry and Thomas are the most numerous. The old wooden works are apt to be somewhat the worse for wear and are often quite useless, but the old cases are a joy to the collector.

The collector's chief concern should be to learn which clocks originally contained wooden and which brass works. A brass movement in a clock originally intended for wooden works naturally indicates a more or less recent substitution. An old clock with wooden works that still tells the time is indeed a treasure.

The old tall clocks are the rarest and most valuable. They may be worth from $100 to $350, according to condition and the quality and design of dials and cases, which vary widely. Terry and

Thomas clocks are worth very nearly what they brought when new. One New York dealer who specializes in American antiques has made a business of collecting Terry shelf clocks, which he repairs and refinishes, putting in new brass works, and sells at a flat price of $35 each. Other wall and shelf clocks are worth, under ordinary conditions, from $15 to $40.

Simon Willard. From a portrait owned by the Misses Bird, Dorchester, Mass.

CHAPTER VI

THE WILLARDS AND THEIR CLOCKS

CONNECTICUT and Massachusetts were not as close together a century ago as they are to-day, yet there was undoubtedly some rivalry between the clockmakers of the two States. The Yankee ingenuity of Terry and Thomas in constructing good clocks at cheap prices undoubtedly affected the industry about Boston after 1800, for we find the prices there taking a decided drop.

The same rivalry still persists in a mild form between the descendants and adherents of the Willards and those of the Connecticut group. Each claims sole credit for revolutionizing the art of clockmaking in this country, and a fair comparative appraisal of their work is not easy to arrive at. Simon Willard was making clocks before Eli Terry was born, and therefore has the advantage of priority. In the matter of design, the clock-cases of both Simon

and Aaron Willard surpassed anything made in Connecticut, with the possible exception of Terry's pillar and scroll-top clock. In mechanical genius, however, Terry, Thomas, and Jerome were the equals of Simon Willard, and it was certainly the Connecticut clockmakers who turned a journeyman's trade into a great industry.

In the eyes of the collector, beauty must always count largely, and in this the palm must be handed to the Willards. Their mahogany tall clocks and their banjo clocks are a delight to the connoisseur. Simon and Aaron Willard were true craftsmen.

The Willards came of good New England stock. Major Simon Willard, an ancestor, was the founder of Concord, Massachusetts, and took a prominent part in King Phillip's War. The clockmakers were the sons of Benjamin and Sarah Willard, who had twelve children.

One of the elder sons was Benjamin, born at Grafton, Massachusetts, March 19, 1743. He started as a clockmaker in Grafton, where he probably learned his trade, and began making clocks about 1765. About 1768 he moved to Lexington, and to Roxbury about 1771, where he advertised musical clocks for sale. An advertisement in the Boston *Gazette* for February 22, 1773, describes

clocks playing "a new tune every day of the week and on Sunday a psalm tune. These tunes perform every hour." Little is known of his subsequent career, except that he got into legal difficulties about 1798 and died in Baltimore in 1803.

Benjamin Willard's clocks are not as famous or as good as those of his younger brothers, but they are older and rarer. He probably made only tall clocks, some of them in handsome mahogany cases with brass dials.

Simon Willard, the eighth son, was by far the most famous, though less successful in a business way than Aaron. He was born in Grafton, April 3, 1753, and his story is set forth in considerable detail in a biography written by his great-grandson, the late John Ware Willard.

He spent his boyhood in Grafton, attending school there until he was apprenticed to an English clockmaker of moderate abilities, named Morris. He was helped also by his brother Benjamin and soon discovered his own mechanical genius. When he was only thirteen years old he made a tall, striking clock that was pronounced better than any of his master's, doing all the work by hand with file, drill, and hammer. Upon the expiration of his term of apprenticeship he either went to work for his brother

for a time or at once started in the business for himself.

None of the Willards appear to have been ardent patriots, and their connection with the Revolutionary War was more or less perfunctory. Simon joined Captain Aaron Kimball's company of militia and marched to Roxbury at the time of the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. He served for one week. Later he was drafted, but secured a substitute and remained in Grafton during the rest of the war.

On November 29, 1776, he married his cousin, Hannah Willard, who died, with her child, in 1777. In 1780 he moved to Roxbury and set up a shop at what is now 2196 Washington Street. Here he lived, with his shop back of the house, until he retired in 1839. As an advertisement he built a big double-dial clock which he hung on the front of the house next door, his own house being too small. This clock was a landmark in Roxbury until 1839, when Willard presented it to the town.

On January 23, 1788, he was married again to Mrs. Mary (Bird) Leeds, a widow, of Dorchester, who died July 23, 1823, leaving eleven children.

While still in Grafton, Simon Willard improved the English clock-jack, a mechanical device for turning a spit in roasting meat over an open fire, and in

A Simon Willard tall clock owned by the Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I.

A typical example of Willard tall clock, with moon's phases above the dial.

1874 he was granted the exclusive privilege for five years (signed by John Hancock) of making and selling his clock-jack in Massachusetts.

In Grafton, he made eight-day tall clocks similar to those of his brother Benjamin, and also a neat shelf clock. In Roxbury, he made, at first, only tall clocks, but later he became equally well known for tower and gallery clocks, and for wall clocks which he always spoke of as timepieces. These clocks he made chiefly during the winter and peddled them in summer along the North Shore, going, at least once, as far as Bangor, Maine.

An advertisement of this period gives the following prices: Steeple clocks, one dial, $500; two dials, $600; three dials, $700; four dials, $900; "common eight-day clocks with very elegant faces and mahogany cases," $50 to $60; eight-day timepieces, $30; thirty-hour timepieces, $10; spring clocks, $50 to $60; one-year clocks, fine cases, $100; astronomical clocks, $70; gallery clocks, $55; chime clocks, six tunes, $120. He also made a sort of cyclometer for carriages at $15.

In 1801 he invented the improved timepiece which has come to be popularly known, because of its shape, as the banjo clock. It was an eight-day, non-striking, pendulum clock, smaller and more compact than

the tall clock, and easily fastened to the wall. It won instant success. In 1802 he got it patented, his papers bearing the distinguished signatures of Thomas Jefferson, President, James Madison, Secretary of State, and Levi Lincoln, Attorney General. A few of these banjo clocks may have been made by him experimentally prior to 1801.

In 1819 Willard took out another patent for an alarm clock, but apparently he went to no great trouble to enforce his patent rights, for the banjo clock was early copied by a number of his contemporaries, though none of their clocks equaled his.

After 1802, Simon Willard largely abandoned the manufacture of tall clocks and devoted himself to the timepieces, making tall clocks to order only. He began to secure special commissions, too, for tower and gallery clocks which took him away from home, so that he gave up his peddling about 1805.

In 1801 he made a large clock for the United States Senate. The principle employed in the works was a new one, so that he had to go to Washington to show the authorities how to run it. Willard's bill for this clock was $770. It was destroyed when the British burned Washington in 1814.

While at the Capital, Willard met President Jefferson, and a genuine friendship sprang up between

the two men. In 1826, Jefferson gave Willard the commission for a turret clock for the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. The specifications, drawn up by Jefferson himself, were the most complete and accurate that Willard had ever received. They called for a sixty-inch dial.

Willard went to Charlottesville to install this clock, which did service for over sixty years. While in Virginia he visited Jefferson at Montecello and also Madison at Montpelier.

Simon Willard was a self-educated man and was very proud of his connection with Harvard College and his friendship with its president and faculty. For years he kept the Harvard clocks in order. He presented two clocks to the college, both of which are still in existence. One, a tall clock, stands in the Faculty Room; the other, a banjo-shaped regulator, is in University Hall.

Willard was also a friend of Josiah Quincy and made an elaborate timepiece for him as a wedding gift for his daughter in 1826.

In 1837 he made two more clocks for the Government. They were set up and tested in his son Simon's shop in Boston and he took them to Washington himself. One was ordered by Associate Justice Story and was placed in the old Senate

Chamber, now the Supreme Court. The other was constructed especially for a case designed by Carlo Franzoni in 1819, representing Clio, goddess of history. It is now to be seen in Statuary Hall. On this visit Willard met President Van Buren and other celebrities.

During these years Willard installed a number of tower clocks which have become more or less famous. In 1804 he made a handsome gallery clock for the First Congregational Church of Roxbury, and in 1806 a one-dial clock for the steeple of the new meeting-house. His price was $858. In 1857 four new dials were placed on the steeple; otherwise the clock is the same. Willard had charge of the running of these clocks as long as he remained in Roxbury.

Willard's great-grandson compiled the following fairly complete list of his public clocks:

First Church of Dedham, 1820 (replaced).

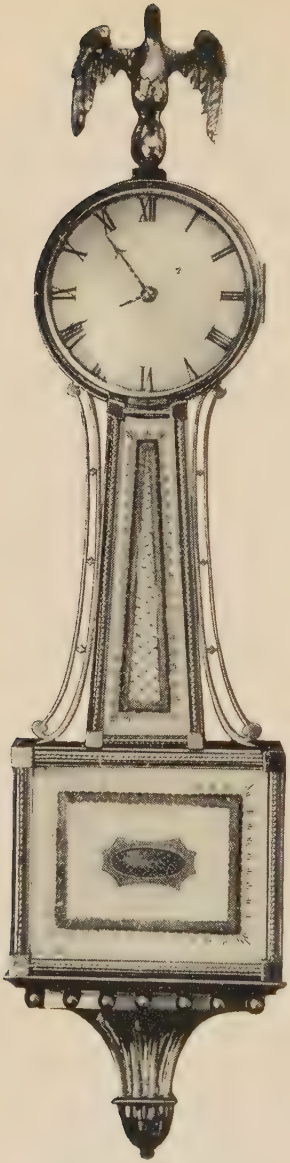
Old State House, Boston (now running).

U. S. Senate, 1801 (destroyed 1814).

Jefferson College, afterward the University of Virginia, 1826 (destroyed by fire 1895).

First Church, Roxbury, 1806.

Park Street Church, Boston (replaced 1906).



A Simon Willard presentation timepiece, owned by Mr. Dwight M. Prouty, Boston.

An Aaron Willard banjo clock with a picture of the *Constitution-Guerrière* battle.

North Church, Newburyport, 1785 (destroyed by fire 1861).

Boylston Market, Boston (still running).

North Church, Portland, Maine, 1802 (replaced 1893).

Chief Clerk's Office, U. S. Supreme Court, 1837 (still running).

The Franzoni Clock, 1837 (still running).

First Unitarian Church, Cambridge, 1832 (still running).

First Congregational Church, Falmouth.

Willard returned to Roxbury for good in 1837 and retired from business in 1839. For three years he lived with his son, Simon, Jr., in Boston, and for two years with his son-in-law, Edward Bird of Dorchester. In Boston he spent a good deal of his time in his son's shop, loath to leave the vocation he loved. In Dorchester he continued to amuse himself in the shop of Elnathan Taber, an old friend and apprentice of his.

After 1845 he lived with his daughters, Mrs. Hobart of Milton and Mrs. Isaac Cary of Boston. He retained his keen faculties to the last and died quietly at the Cary home in Washington Street on August 30, 1848, in his ninety-sixth year.

Simon Willard was a great inventor and craftsman, but a poor business man. His fortune was but $500 when he retired and he died poor. He was honest, proud, and sensitive. He was a tireless worker, often spending twelve or fourteen hours a day at his bench. During his lifetime it is estimated that he made about 1,200 eight-day clocks and 4,000 timepieces, besides the others. He also invented and manufactured machinery for turning lighthouse turrets. In some respects his clocks have never been improved upon.

It is, of course, the shelf clocks, tall clocks, and timepieces in which the collector is chiefly interested. The first clocks he made in Grafton were thirty-hour shelf clocks, about twenty-six inches high in plain cases of cherry or mahogany with brass dials. The movement was good, forming the basis of his later timepiece. These shelf clocks are valuable to-day because of their rarity. He also made a few miniature tall clocks, about two feet high, with fine mahogany cases and brass dials. These are very rare.

Simon Willard's tall clocks were made chiefly between 1780 and 1802. They were eight-day striking clocks with excellent works of hammered brass, cut out by hand with a file. He is said to

have become so expert that he could cut the teeth of the wheels with absolute accuracy by his eye, with no marks to guide him. The steel pinions were also made by hand. At one period Paul Revere is said to have made some of Willard's brass castings.

Working alone, Willard could turn out one of these tall clocks in six days. Later, with better tools, he averaged one timepiece a day without ease. During his latter years he made some use of an English wheel-cutting machine.

The movements of these clocks, some of which have kept excellent time to this day, are wonderful examples of file work; and more remarkable still, the craftsman's hand lost none of its cunning as the years advanced. At the age of eighty-five he was as skilful as when he first opened his shop in Roxbury.

The original rods of the long forty-inch pendulums were of selected wood, baked hard and polished. In most of the clocks now extant these pendulums have been replaced by later ones. The original weights were of brass filled with shot. The dials, generally of iron, sometimes of wood, were painted with eight or ten coats, each rubbed down till the finish was like enamel. A few of the earlier clocks had Arabic numerals, but they were usually

Roman. Some of the dials were finely decorated by artists, one of whom was a Charles Bullard.

Simon Willard did not make his own cases or dials, but he demanded always the best of workmanship. The cases of his tall clocks were made by Henry Willard of Roxbury, Charles Crehore of Dorchester, William Fiske of Watertown, and others. They were made on the same general model, from carefully selected, well seasoned oak, mahogany, and cherry, occasionally inlaid with satinwood or holly. On the top of the hood were placed brass urns, balls, or spikes, rarely the eagle.

Some of these tall clocks had chime or musical attachments and the dials often told the days of the month and the phases of the moon.

The patent timepiece or banjo clock of 1802 became at once popular because of its convenience, its graceful shape and decorative finish, and its excellent timekeeping qualities. The movement which, as well as the form of the case, was original with Willard, was designed for economy of space and ran with a shortened pendulum.

There were three types of banjo clock. The first had a plain mahogany case, occasionally inlaid, with curved brass side ornaments, but with no glass front and no bracket. The second kind, which was made

in the largest quantities, had a mahogany case, brass side ornaments, and glass front, but no bracket or base piece. The most ornate kind was known as the presentation clock and was of mahogany and white enamel with gilded beading and painted glass front, and with an ornamental base bracket. The presentation clocks were popular as wedding gifts and cost $80 or more. Josiah Quincy's purchase was one of these.

The top ornaments varied, brass balls, urns, and brass or gilded wooden acorns being commonest. Simon Willard seldom if ever used the spread eagle, which was often added later and was much used by his imitators.

The dial glasses were slightly convex. The glass fronts were painted chiefly by Charles Bullard and an Englishman whose name has been lost. The designs were chiefly lacy arabesques and scroll work, leaf designs, etc., executed in gold leaf on a white ground.

The door glasses were usually painted with borders of gold and black on a white ground, or various color combinations, with an oval or oblong space left in the center through which the swinging pendulum might be seen. Simon Willard did not use landscapes, pictures of battles, ships, flags, or eagles on

these door glasses, and no gilt on the wooden cases except on the gift clocks.

He made a few mahogany timepieces of a slightly different design as regulators for banks and offices. His gallery clocks usually had gilt cases with large round dials surmounted with the spread eagle. The short pendulum cases had painted glass fronts and usually rested on a bracket.

None of the Willards made clocks with wooden works. Simon Willard signed many of his tall clocks on the dials and his timepieces—generally "S. Willard's Patent"—on the doors of the pendulum cases.

Though several of the Willards were in the clock business, they were none of them partners. Next to Simon in fame was his younger brother Aaron, who was born October 13, 1757, and may have learned his trade from Benjamin or Simon in Grafton.

In 1775, Aaron marched to Roxbury with the Grafton Militia, as a fifer, and served for a few weeks. In 1780, he moved to Roxbury and opened a shop near Simon's. He was a better business man than his brothers and he prospered from the start. He peddled his clocks along the South Shore, while Simon covered the North Shore.

Aaron Willard moved to Washington Street, Boston, about 1790, and established a factory connected with his house. A little colony of his employees and the allied trades—cabinet-makers, painters, etc.—soon grew up about him and other clockmakers were attracted to the neighborhood, so that by 1816 it had become the clockmaking quarter of the city. Here he prospered, employing twenty or thirty workmen, and retired, well-to-do, about 1823. His business was continued by his son, Aaron Willard, Jr., who originated the lyre clock and produced many styles to meet the changing demands. Aaron, Sr., died in 1844, at the age of eighty-seven.

Aaron Willard first made tall and shelf clocks, and later banjo clocks, gallery clocks, and regulators. The styles of his tall clocks varied considerably in excellence. The cases were usually of mahogany, sometimes of oak or cherry, and occasionally inlaid. He produced several styles of shelf clocks, standing about thirty inches high, of no very great distinction in design.

About 1802 Aaron copied his brother's patent timepiece, changing the pattern somewhat. His glass fronts were never so finely decorated as were Simon's and he generally painted a picture on the

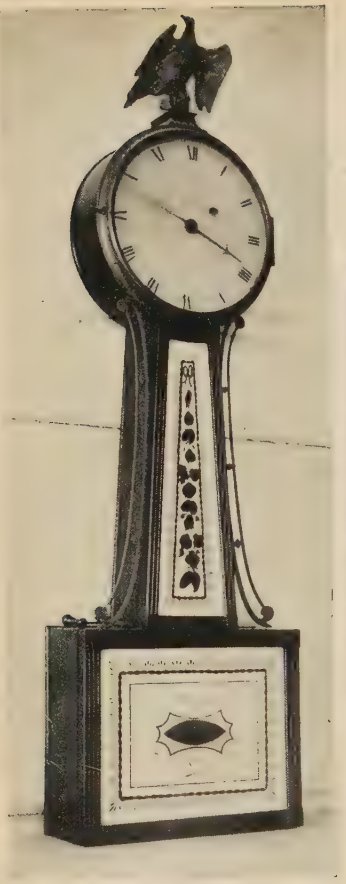
doors of his pendulum cases. He used gold beading and base brackets more often than Simon.

In general, Aaron Willard's clocks, while not lacking in decorative merit, were somewhat inferior to Simon's. But he made more of them and they are to be found somewhat more frequently to-day.

Ephraim Willard, another of the brothers, born March 18, 1755, followed the trade of watchmaker and clockmaker in Medford and Roxbury. In 1801 he moved to Boston. He made a few tall clocks which are now very rare.

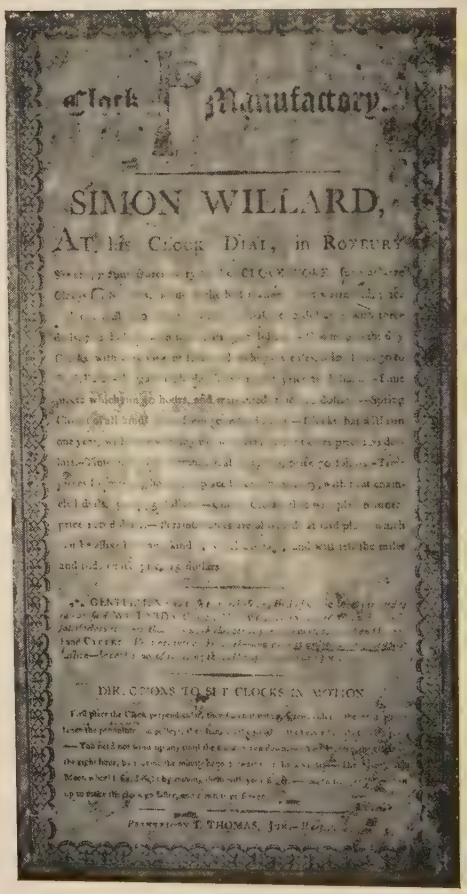
Two or three of Simon Willard's sons followed their father's calling. Simon, Jr., the second son, born in 1795, left school at the age of fourteen to learn the trade. A few years later he gave it up and entered West Point, remaining in the army till 1816. He started a clock business in Roxbury, but failed, and went to New York in 1826 to learn watchmaking. He returned in 1828 and started in business again in Boston at 9 Congress Street, where he became successful and wealthy. He invented and constructed a wonderfully accurate chronometer or astronomical clock, which for years was the standard. He remained in business for forty-two years and died in 1874.

Benjamin F. Willard, Simon's fifth son, was also



A typical Simon Willard patent timepiece or banjo clock. The eagle on top is probably a later addition.

The advertisement label which Simon Willard pasted inside the cases of his tall clocks.



Clock Manufactory.

SIMON WILLARD,

AT HIS CLOCK DIAL, in ROXBURY

DIRECTIONS TO SET CLOCKS IN MOTION

a skilled mechanic and inventor. He learned the clockmaking trade from his father. Like all of the Willards, he started as a poor lad and passed through a severe struggle before success came to him. He was born in 1803 and died in 1847.

Simon Willard had many apprentices, much of whose work is worth knowing. Of these the best known was Elnathan Taber. When Willard retired, Taber bought his tools and continued the manufacture of the patent timepieces, most of which were sold by Simon, Jr., in his Boston store at $16 apiece. Some of these clocks are marked "Simon Willard, Boston," but should not be confused with the original timepieces marked "S. Willard's Patent." Other makers also made use of the Willard name in some form or other, but their banjo clocks lack the decorative grace of the originals, and the imitators more frequently used the spread eagle on top and pictures of naval battles of the War of 1812, landscapes, etc., on the pendulum cases. Sometimes they introduced striking attachments.

Other apprentices who were afterward successful were Levi and Abel Hutchins, William Cummins, and William King Lemst. Among the other contemporaries who followed Willard's styles more or less may be mentioned Samuel Mulliken, David

Wood, and Thomas Balch of Newburyport, Benjamin Bagnall, Jr., of Boston, Daniel and Nathaniel Munroe and Samuel Whiting of Concord, Massachusetts.

Most noteworthy of all was Lemuel Curtis, who made banjo clocks that were even more elegant than Simon Willard's presentation clocks. Curtis was born in Boston in 1790, moved to Concord in 1814, and took out a patent in 1816 on an improvement on the Willard timepiece. He moved to Burlington, Vermont, about 1818, and died there in 1857. His clocks show much gilding and ornament, and a round instead of a square pendulum case covered with convex glass on which a landscape or some classical or allegorical subject was painted.

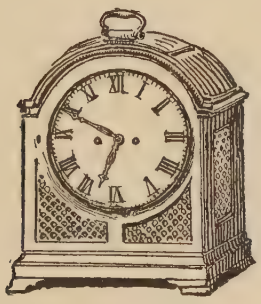
These Willards are not to be confused with Philander J. and Alexander T. Willard, who made clocks at Ashby, Massachusetts, between 1800 and 1840. They were probably not related to the Grafton family.

As in the case of other antiques, present-day values depend largely upon the eagerness of the purchaser. Willard tall clocks are now so rare as to be practically out of the market. In New York, where the highest prices prevail, they are valued at $250 to $500, according to their condition. Simon Wil-

Five Baron Stiegel salt cups of the fourteen owned by Mrs. Albert K. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa.

Clear and tinted pitchers and creamers in the Hostetter Collection.

lard timepieces of the ordinary type, with mahogany cases and no base bracket, are priced at $75 to $85, which is rather more than they are worth, and good examples of the presentation clock, with bracket, at $100 or more. An Aaron Willard timepiece, with the picture of the battle between the frigates *Guerrière* and *Constitution*, was recently shown in a New York shop window with a $50 price mark. Doubtless it could be bought for $35 or $40. The Aaron Willard shelf clocks are worth somewhat less, and good banjo clocks by other makers may be valued at from $20 to $35, according to style and condition.



CHAPTER VII

BARON STIEGEL AND HIS GLASSWARE

WHEN the assiduous historians of Pennsylvania have at length stripped bare of its mythical embellishments the story of "Baron Heinrich von Stiegel," there will still remain to us the biography of one of the most romantic characters that ever flourished on this side of the Atlantic. And there will also remain to those of us who care for such things a few pieces of the famous Stiegel glassware, among the early objects of fine domestic art manufactured in the Colonies. He was, indeed, not merely the picturesque, spectacular figure that legend has painted him, but an ironmaster, town builder, and glassmaker, and one of the most notable of pre-Revolutionary manufacturers in America.

In telling the story of Stiegel's life and career I shall endeavor to confine myself to such facts as are now generally agreed upon by the historians. His

Stiegel glassware, Metropolitan Museum. Examples of blown relief decoration: barrel tumbler and salt dish

name was undoubtedly Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel; that is the way he signed the ship's roster when he came to this country. Later, following the custom of his time, he varied it to Henry Wm. Stiegel. He was born May 13, 1729, near Cologne, on the French side of the Rhine (or, as the older tradition has it, near Mannheim, Germany), the son of John Frederich and Dorothea Elizabeth Stiegel. At the death of his father in 1741, he and his mother and his younger brother Anthony gathered together their worldly goods and started for the New World, where many of their neighbors had found liberty and prosperity. On August 31, 1750, they arrived at Philadelphia on the good ship *Nancy*. The legend that Stiegel came with a patrimony of £40,000 has been pretty well disproved; he probably came to these shores a comparatively poor boy, seeking his fortune.

The mother and brother settled in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, where they lived and eventually died, but Heinrich traveled about the country looking for his chance. In those days there were thriving iron mines in Pennsylvania—the most productive in this country—and about them had sprung up forges and furnaces and prosperous ironmasters. One of these was Jacob Huber of Brickerville, Lan-

caster County. The Brickerville situation looked good to young Stiegel, and on November 7, 1752, he married Huber's daughter Elizabeth. Two daughters were born to them—Barbara and Elizabeth.

In 1857, Stiegel had saved enough money to buy his father-in-law's furnace property, which he promptly tore down, erecting a new and larger one, which he named Elizabeth Furnace.

On February 13, 1758, Stiegel's wife Elizabeth died and was buried in the Lutheran graveyard at Brickerville. A year and a half later he married Elizabeth Holtz of Philadelphia, who bore him one son, Jacob. He built a house near the Falls of the Schuylkill in Philadelphia, where they lived until 1765, when he made his chief residence at Elizabeth Furnace again.

The business of the Elizabeth Furnace prospered from the start, and he began making an ovenless, pipeless, wood-burning iron stove which was intended to fit into the jamb of the kitchen fireplace. On these first stoves appeared this inscription:

Baron Stiegel ist der Mann
Der die Ofen Geisen Kann.

Which brings up the question of his alleged title of nobility. It was undoubtedly a nickname, but

whether originally applied in honor or in jest, is a matter of conjecture. His extravagant habits of ostentation and the feudal elegance and lavishness of his manner of living certainly proved the aptness of the title, and it stuck. Perhaps that is all we need to know about it. At any rate, "Baron" Stiegel he will be to us so long as a piece of his glassware remains intact.

Stiegel improved this stove, made a few open Franklins, and eventually perfected the ten-plate stove which served our ancestors for a hundred years. Few of these are now to be found intact, but Pennsylvania antiquarians have found it interesting to collect the iron plates. A stove-plate owned by Mr. George S. Danner bears a classic profile (the likeness of George III, perhaps) surrounded by a wreath. Below are Masonic emblems and above the inscription "Stiegel Elizabeth Furnace, 1769."

By 1760, Stiegel had become one of the most prosperous ironmasters in Pennsylvania. Elizabeth Furnace was kept continuously busy and trade was growing. About seventy-five men were employed here. Near the furnace the Baron erected twenty-five tenant houses, several of which are still standing. The property included some 900 acres, much

of it in timber, and a gang of men was employed to cut the wood and burn the charcoal that was used in smelting the ore. Stiegel owned also stores, a mill, and a malt house.

A spacious house, substantially built of sandstone, which still stands near the site of the furnace, is said to be the mansion occupied by Stiegel during his monthly visits, while his main residence was in Philadelphia. At this house, as at Philadelphia, a corps of servants was maintained sufficient for any emergency. The Baron's proclivity toward a feudal establishment was beginning to assert itself.

It was about this time, too, that Stiegel began seeking business expansion and new commercial interests. His first move in this direction was the purchase of a one-half interest in Charming Forge, near Womeldorf, Berks County, on Tulpehocken Creek.

During these years of business activity Stiegel had associated himself with two shrewd brothers, Charles and Alexander Stedman, a merchant and a lawyer of Philadelphia. In September, 1762, he formed a partnership with them, paying £50 sterling for a one-third interest in the Stiegel Company and in a tract of 729 acres of land lying on the north bank of Chiquesalunga or Chiques Creek, in Lancaster

Stiegel glassware in the Hunter collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Salt dish and creamer in tinted ware.

County. Their plan was to develop a town here and make a fortune in real estate.

Stiegel, before his departure for the New World, had received a first-class education. One of his many accomplishments was surveying, and he laid out the new town according to his own design and called it Manheim. Tradition asserts that it was originally a faithful replica of the German city of Mannheim. Here the company built and sold houses, subject to ground rental, and conducted a clever and successful boom.

Within the area of the new town there were only two little log houses standing, but soon an orderly, attractive village replaced them. Early in 1763, Stiegel, who had become greatly interested in this venture, began the building of mansion number three at the corner of Market Square and East High Street. It was a square house, forty feet on each side, and was constructed of brick which were specially imported from England, and were hauled from Philadelphia in the Baron's wagons.

The house was two years in building. When completed it was elaborately furnished. The great parlor was hung with tapestries of hunting scenes (part of which are preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical Society), doors and wainscoting were heavily

paneled, and the mantels were adorned with blue Delft tiles.

Stiegel was a religious man with a decided bent toward preaching. Half of the second floor in the Manheim house was built in the form of an arched chapel, with a pulpit and pews. Here the Baron was wont to gather his working people together, and in a pompous but solemn manner expound to them in the German tongue the doctrines of the Lutheran faith. Another unique feature of this house, illustrating his eccentricity perhaps as much as his taste for music, was a platform on the roof, surrounded by a balustrade, where a band of his employees discoursed music on all possible occasions on instruments of his providing.

While the business at Elizabeth Furnace was prospering, with two hundred to three hundred workmen employed, progress at Manheim was a bit too slow to suit the enterprising Baron. Some industry was essential to insure the growth of the town, so Stiegel resolved to erect a glass factory. Glassmaking had been for centuries one of the industrial arts of the region of Cologne, where Stiegel was born, and he may have received technical training in the trade, for subsequent events proved him to be no novice. He had, in fact, been manufacturing window glass

and bottles in a small way at Brickerville since 1763, including clear glass and several greens.

The new plant was built of imported brick and was completed some time after 1765. Tradition states that it was so large that a four-horse team could be driven through the doors, turned around, and driven out again, and that it was surmounted by a huge dome ninety feet high—dimensions that should not be accepted too readily. Stiegel made a trip or two to Europe and brought back with him skilled workmen from Germany and from Bristol. After some small manufacture of window glass and bottles, the major operations were commenced in 1768, and here the first American flint glassware was manufactured.

By 1769 the glass factory was running at full capacity, with thirty-five glassblowers employed, and its products were sold in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Boston. The Baron's annual income from this industry alone was said to be £5,000, a tidy sum in those days. In August, 1769, the Stedman brothers sold out their interest in Manheim to Isaac Cox, and the following February Stiegel bought it for £107, 10*s*.

He was now rated as one of the wealthiest men in Pennsylvania, and he certainly lived up to that rep-

utation. He entertained lavishly at his various residences, and on one or two occasions George Washington is said to have been his guest. To give greater scope to his social activities he built, in 1769, a strange sort of tower on a hill near Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, some five miles north of Elizabeth Furnace. The hill is still known as Thurm Berg. The tower was a wooden structure, built of heavy timbers, in the form of a pyramid. Its dimensions are given as seventy-five feet high, fifty feet square at the base, and ten feet square at the top. Its exterior was painted red. On the ground floor were banquet halls, and above richly appointed guest chambers. This tower or "schloss" came in later years to be known as "Stiegel's folly," and fell into ruins soon after his death.

During these years of his prosperity the Baron's tendency toward elaborate display became more and more marked. He was accustomed to drive in state from one of his residences to another in a coach drawn by four prancing steeds (coal black or milk white, according to varying traditions), guided by liveried postilions and accompanied by a pack of baying hounds. A cannon's roar announced his coming and departure at Thurm Berg, while at Manheim he was

Cotton-stem wine glasses, enameled tumblers, and tinted sugar bowls in the Hostetter Collection of Stiegel glassware.

Enameled tumblers and mugs. Hostetter Collection.

greeted by the shouts of the populace and the music of the band upon his housetop.

But with all this baronial splendor he never failed to act the part of the lord of bounty. He paid his workmen well and was greatly loved by them. He furnished them religious, musical, and intellectual instruction, and was perhaps the first American manufacturer to engage in what we know as welfare work.

And, above all, he was a staunch supporter of his church. At one time he had a note of £100 against the Lutheran congregation at Schaefferstown which, in a moment of generosity, he cancelled. In 1770 he aided in the establishment of the Zion Church at Manheim, providing the lot for the sum of five shillings and the payment of "one red rose annually in the month of June forever, if the same shall be lawfully demanded by the heirs, executors, or assigns." The legend states that the Baron brought a rosebush from England and planted it in the churchyard, and that this same bush is blooming still.

However that may be, the "Feast of Roses" has been reëstablished in Manheim. In 1891 Dr. J. H. Sieling, one of Stiegel's most indefatigable historians, discovered among the dusty records of the

church the original deed bearing the unique rental stipulation that had been forgotten for over a century. The debt, he found, had been paid in 1773 and 1774, and then, with the Baron's declining fortunes, had been neglected. In June, 1892, payment was resumed, and on the second Sunday of each succeeding June the pretty ceremony has been conducted by the Zion Lutheran Church at Manheim. A red rose from the churchyard is sent to one of the Baron's descendants, and piles of roses dropped within the chancel rail are sent to the hospitals.

But evil days befell the princely Stiegel. His extravagant mode of living began to tell. The market for his glassware dwindled as hard times approached and he fell more or less a victim to scheming associates. The clouds of impending war shadowed all business and Stiegel found himself in a state of bankruptcy. He did his best to ward off the inevitable, even pawning his wife's gold watch in his extremity, and his poorer friends rallied to his support. But it was all in vain, and on October 15, 1774, he was cast into the debtor's prison. The hum of industry slackened at Manheim and Elizabeth, and the once opulent Baron found himself mortgaged and penniless.

By a special act of the Assembly he was released

from prison on Christmas Eve, 1774. Through the sale of the glass works and most of his real estate, and with the aid of his friends, he was able to raise sufficient funds to satisfy his creditors. But his days of opulence were ended and his costly equipage sold. Robert Coleman, who had gained control by lease of the plant at Brickerville, made him foreman of Elizabeth Furnace, and he took up his work again courageously.

At first it was hard sledding, with all industry crippled by the outbreak of war, but in 1776 Stiegel procured orders for cannon, shot, and shells for the Continental troops. For a time this work kept the plant running night and day. During the winter at Valley Forge, Stiegel kept open the road of communication with Washington's army. During 1777 a band of Hessians captured at Trenton (200 of them, it is said) were sent to Stiegel to enable him to dig a canal, a mile long, to increase his water power.

Toward the end of 1778 the government orders ceased, and Stiegel again faced bankruptcy. He devoted the remnants of his fortune to the satisfying of his creditors, and then, abandoning all his dreams of commercial success, he established a modest home in the parsonage of the Lutheran Church at Bricker-

ville, of which he had once been a munificent benefactor. Here, at the age of forty-eight, "a thin, bent old man," he settled down to a quiet life, gaining a scanty living by means of preaching, teaching school, giving music lessons, and surveying. In 1780 he moved back to Schaefferstown and in 1781 to Charming Forge, where he taught school and kept books for the factory.

In 1782 his wife died while on a visit in Philadelphia, and on January 10, 1785, the day after the death of his brother Anthony at Schaefferstown, Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel breathed his last and was presumably buried in an unmarked grave at Brickerville.

Romantic as is the half-legendary story of Baron Stiegel's career, the thing which has kept his memory green outside his own section of the country is the well deserved fame of his glassware. Fortunately, the output of his factory was so great that a moderate amount of it is still in existence, not only in Pennsylvania but in Boston, New York, and elsewhere, and it is coming to be more and more highly prized by collectors.

Glassmaking was one of the early industrial enterprises of the American Colonies, and Stiegel was by no means the first to engage in it. But to him

Two specimens in the Hunter museum of Sandwich glassware. A deep-glass tumbler, corrugated or fluted style, with an etched festoon border; and an example of the enameled ware—the cockatoo pattern.

remains the credit of having made the most notable and probably the first fine flint glass in America. His product included both utilitarian and art wares. For the table he made cream jugs, pitchers, sugar bowls, tumblers, wine glasses, large flip glasses, rummers with and without covers, salt cups, pepper cruets, dishes and plates, vinegar cruets, champagne glasses, mugs, finger bowls, other bowls, molasses jugs, caraffes, and egg glasses, all of better quality than any hitherto attempted in this country. These were made chiefly in four colors—white or clear glass, blue, purple, and green, beside the enameled ware. The blues predominate and show a wonderful depth, variety, and clearness of coloring. They range from a light sapphire to the deepest shades, and exhibit undertones of green or purple when held to the light. At least four shades of green are to be found and occasionally pieces were made in olive or amethyst. Much of the clear ware is beautifully engraved, and some of Stiegel's "cotton-stem" wine glasses rival the famous examples from Bristol. There were also made a few flint-glass articles flashed with a thin coating of white, and various two-colored pieces—blue and transparent, blue and opaque white, amethyst and transparent, etc.

Stiegel also made window glass, sheet glass, bottles, flasks, chemists' tubes and retorts, measuring glasses, funnels, jars, jug stands, etc., as well as vases, scent bottles, and toys.

The relief designs found in much of the Stiegel glass were made by blowing it in figured molds. Often the pattern was impressed in a small pattern mold and the article then blown in the open air by hand, giving such pieces a distended, asymmetrical appearance that is far from displeasing and that gives a wide variety of form among individual specimens. The commonest design is a diamond-shaped or diaper pattern, and many pieces are found with straight or twisted fluting.

The quality of the glass is such as to render it remarkably vibrant. A bowl, struck sharply with the finger, will produce a clear, rich tone for fifteen or twenty seconds.

Stiegel's enameled ware is particularly quaint and interesting. He was the first American manufacturer to attempt enameling on glass, and he imported skilled workmen for this purpose. Four patterns used to decorate tumblers and other pieces in bright colors are the most common, though these were varied considerably and others were occasionally used. Enameled mugs, steins, glasses, and cordial bottles

A group of silverware made by Paul Revere and exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1906.

were produced, as well as engraved bottles, tumblers, and flips.

The most noteworthy collection of Stiegel glass is that of Mr. Frederick W. Hunter of New York, who has presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where it is now on exhibition. There are nearly three hundred pieces, altogether, including at least fifty of the remarkable blues. The Pennsylvania Museum also owns a good collection, as does Mrs. Albert K. Hostetter of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The question of present values is always of prime interest to the collector. While it is impossible to be exact, it is safe to say that Stiegel glassware is worth from $5 for one of the smaller, plainer pieces to $20 or $25 for one of the larger, more elaborate examples, while $50 is not an unheard-of price for one of the finer flip glasses. Not long ago an authentic Stiegel tumbler or salt dish could be picked up for a dollar or two, but the interest in this ware suddenly increased less than five years ago, and market values advanced very sharply.

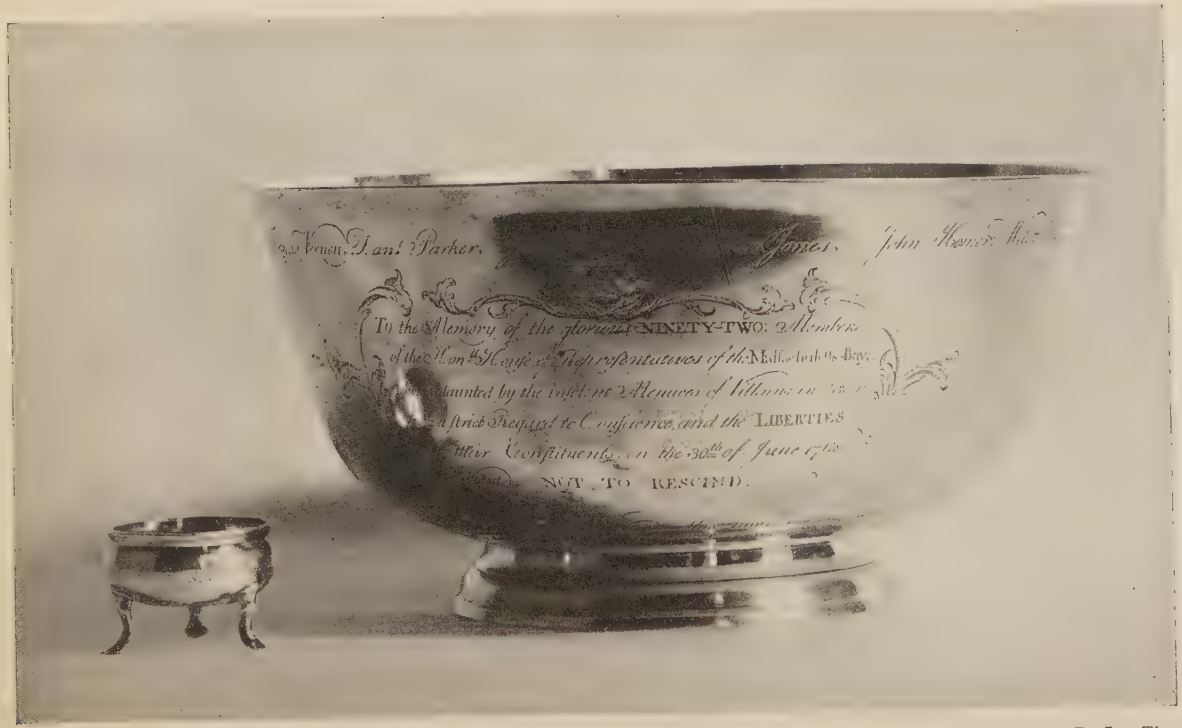
A few collectors, indeed, pursued their quest with such zeal that as high as $100 was asked for a single piece. Prof. Edwin A. Barber of the Pennsylvania Museum writes: "Pieces which I could buy for $1.50

until a year or so ago are now quoted at $50 and upwards, which is ridiculous. I have, however, within the past few months, bought quite a number of pieces at reasonable prices, ranging from $5 to $20 each."

There has been little or no attempt made thus far to fake Stiegel ware, though it has not been uncommon for similar products of a later period to be attributed to Stiegel by dealers and collectors.

Stiegel glassware is distinguished by its brittleness and its bell-like resonance, by its light weight and thin texture, by its brilliant surface, by the beauty and uniformity of its colorings, by the quality of its relief patterns, by the decorative quaintness of its forms, and by its hand-made appearance. As objects of art Stiegel's best pieces are only beginning to be appreciated.

Stiegel was an eccentric character undoubtedly, and he was an able man of business, who owed his downfall in part to an injudicious ambition and in part to his expensive tastes. But above all else he was an artist, a craftsman. True, he employed workmen of the highest skill and training, but they produced only so long as they felt the stimulus of his inspiring personality and enthusiastic direction. He alone was responsible for one of the most distinguished products of pre-Revolutionary America.



The famous Sons of Liberty punch bowl made by Revere in 1768; now owned by Marsden J. Perry, Esq., Providence, R. I. The salt cellar, another patriotic Revere piece, is the property of R. T. Haines Halsey, Esq., New York.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VERSATILE PAUL REVERE

SINCE Fourth Reader days we have known of the midnight ride of Paul Revere. As a patriot and a soldier he made a place for his name in American Revolutionary history. But the collector and the student of early American crafts finds him no less interesting as an engraver and as the designer and maker of some of the most exquisite old silverware that has come down to us from Revolutionary times.

In the recently awakened enthusiasm for Americana, old silver naturally has its place, and in that department of craftsmanship the interest is strongly focused upon Revere, partly because of his character and exploits, partly because of the exquisite quality of his workmanship, and partly because there is so much of it, comparatively speaking, to be found in private and public collections.

But Revere's activities did not stop even here. He was a goldsmith and an engraver and a publisher of historical and political cartoons. He was a manu-

facturer of gunpowder, church bells, and rolled copper. He even kept a hardware store in Boston, where he sold jewelry, picture frames, and false teeth. He was a high Mason and an industrial organizer, a Son of Liberty and a colonel in the army.

Paul Revere was born in Boston January 1, 1735 (December 21, 1734, old style), and lived in Boston all his life. He was the third of twelve children and was named after his father, a Frenchman, who was christened Apollos Revoire, but changed his name to Paul Revere after coming to America.

Paul Revere the elder was born at Riancaud, France, the son of Huguenot parents. In 1715, at the age of thirteen, he was sent to a brother in the Island of Guernsey to learn the trade of goldsmith. He came to America in 1723 and settled in Boston, being apprenticed here for a short time to John Cony. On June 19, 1729, he married Deborah Hichborn. He was successful in his calling, for a large part of American wealth in his day was centered in and about Boston and there was a growing demand for the silverware which it was part of the goldsmith's business to produce. He died in 1754 and his wife in 1777.

Paul the son—the man known to history as Paul Revere—went to school in Boston to the famous

Master Tileston at the North Grammar School. While still a youth he entered his father's shop to learn his trade, which included the designing as well as the making of silver pitchers, ewers, tankards, cans, teapots, spoons, porringers, etc. It also included chasing and engraving, and at this young Paul became an expert. On his father's death, when he was nineteen years old, he took charge of the shop.

He joined a local artillery company, of which he became second lieutenant, and in 1756, when he was twenty-one years of age, he was sent on the expedition against the French at Crown Point. He served for six months at Fort William Henry on Lake George, but saw no action.

Returning to Boston he devoted himself wholeheartedly to his trade and began turning out creditable silverware of his own designing. On August 17, 1757, he married Sarah Orne. She died May 3, 1773, after bearing eight children, and five months after her death Revere married Rachel Walker.

The silver engraving interested Revere so much that he began experimenting on copper plate also, drawing some of his own subjects. By 1765 he had become known as a clever if somewhat crude caricaturist as well as a skilled engraver.

Although we are at present interested in Paul

Revere chiefly as a craftsman, no sketch of his life can well be presented without some account of his patriotic activities in the early days of our national struggle for independence. He belonged to that group of young and ardent patriots who kept affairs in Boston pretty well stirred up for a dozen years before the Revolution. He was a member of several patriotic committees and on December 16, 1773, he took part in the famous Boston Tea Party.

He was an accomplished horseman and often acted as messenger for the Committee of Safety. Twice in 1774 he rode to New York and Philadelphia to secure support and coöperation among the Colonies, once carrying with him the Suffolk Resolves—the forerunner of the Declaration of Independence.

On December 13, 1774, he carried to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the news of the embargo on munitions of war and the British plan of sending a strong garrison to Fort William and Mary at New Castle. As a result of his warning, the New Hampshire Sons of Liberty armed and surprised the fort on the night of December 14, capturing one hundred pounds of powder and fifteen cannon, which were later used with effect at Bunker Hill. This was the first organized, armed resistance to British rule.

Most of us know of Revere's famous midnight

A silver tea set of extraordinary grace made by Paul Revere in 1799 for presentation to Edmund Hartt, constructor of the frigate *Boston*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Silver sauce pan of unusual design, by Paul Revere.

ride from the poetic version, which is not entirely accurate. His own narrative is given in a letter to Jeremy Belknap, published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Revere was at this time a vigorous man of forty, an active member of the Sons of Liberty, and one of thirty volunteer night watchmen whose duty it was to keep in touch with the British movements in Boston, both military and political. They were well aware of the British plan to raid the stores at Concord and Lexington and on April 18, 1775, reported that the time had arrived. There was also a price on the heads of Hancock and Adams, who were at Lexington, and on the night of the 18th Dr. Warren sent William Dawes and Paul Revere by different routes to warn them and the patriots at Concord. Dawes started first, but arrived later than Revere at the home of Rev. Mr. Clarke in Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were housed. It is hardly fair, however, that all the credit should be given to Revere.

Revere set out from Charlestown at about eleven P. M., riding Deacon Larkin's horse. The incident of the lanterns in the church steeple was a matter of minor importance.

Not far outside of Charlestown he was surprised

and pursued by British horsemen, but escaped through Medford, arousing the minute-men along the way. He arrived at Lexington with his message about midnight.

About an hour later Revere, with Dawes and Dr. Prescott, started out for Concord. They had not gone far before they were surrounded by British soldiers. Prescott promptly turned his horse, and leaping a stone wall, escaped, but Dawes and Revere were captured. They started back toward Boston, but before long the soldiers became alarmed by signs of gathering minute-men and relaxed their vigilance. Dawes started up his horse and dashed down the road, hotly pursued by three troopers. The story has it that as he approached a darkened farmhouse, he called loudly, "Hello, boys, I 've got three of 'em," whereat his pursuers turned without further ado and fled. Revere was not so lucky. His horse was taken from him; but later, in the confusion, he managed to slip away.

On the following day, the 19th, occurred the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington and "the shot heard 'round the world." Most of the stores, thanks to the timely warning, had been safely hidden.

Revolution having become more important than business to Revere, he arranged to have his affairs

in Boston cared for while he moved to Charlestown and devoted himself largely to public activities. There were more important journeys on horseback to New York and Philadelphia and there was military service.

In November, 1775, Revere was instructed, while in Philadelphia, to inspect the powder mill there, as Massachusetts badly needed one. The owner of the factory, jealous of his rights, would not give the emissary any information or permit him to make any drawings, though he allowed him to walk through the plant. Revere kept his eyes and ears open. He possessed a working knowledge of chemistry and of manufacturing processes in general, and when he returned he was fully prepared to engage in the manufacture of gun powder for the Continental Army. The rebuilding of an old powder mill at Canton, Massachusetts, was begun in February, 1776, and was completed in May, and Revere took charge. He was able soon to supply tons of powder for the army.

In 1776 he was also employed to repair the cannon left spiked at Castle William by the British on the evacuation of Boston. In July of that year he was made a major in a regiment organized for local defense, and in November became lieutenant-colonel

of a regiment of state artillery, in which his son Paul, a lad of sixteen, became a lieutenant.

The regiment saw some service in both Massachusetts and Rhode Island, but was stationed at Castle William the greater part of the time. Revere was in command of the fort during most of 1778 and 1779.

In 1779 he took part in the ill-fated and mismanaged expedition to Maine, having charge of the artillery train. Commodore Saltonstall failed to cooperate, discipline among the state troops was weak, and the expedition was broken up by the British garrison at Penobscot. Very likely Revere became insubordinate under these trying conditions, but it is not to be believed that he was cowardly. However, serious charges were preferred against him and he was removed from his post at Castle William. He was arrested on September 6 and held a prisoner in his own home for two or three days, and then released.

Revere demanded a thorough investigation and would not remain satisfied with semi-acquittals, but it was not until February 19, 1782, that he at last obtained conclusive vindication from a competent court-marshal. His personal reputation seems not to have been seriously impaired, but his chances were

Part of the exhibit of Revere silverware at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1906.

spoiled for securing a coveted commission in the Continental Army.

The year 1780 found Paul Revere back at his trade in Boston. During the war his business had naturally suffered, though he had profitably conducted the powder mill at Canton and had been employed by the Government to oversee the casting of brass cannon. Also he had been engaged to supervise the making of our first national paper money. On May 10, 1775, the second Continental Congress in Philadelphia voted to authorize the issuance of two million Spanish dollars in bills of credit. John Adams and Benjamin Franklin were members of the committee which gave Revere the contract for engraving and printing. He constructed his own presses for this work. In December of the same year the Massachusetts Provincial Congress gave him a similar contract. Revere also found time to design and engrave a state seal for Massachusetts in 1775, and a second one, for the new State, in 1780.

He was now forty-five years old, with a wife and eight children. One son, Paul, had learned the goldsmith's trade and another, Joseph Warren, was associated with him in various business enterprises. In spite of the fact that trade had been dull and a

good deal of Revere's money had been tied up by the war, he was fairly well-to-do.

For a few years Revere devoted most of his attention to the rehabilitation of his silverware business. In 1783 he opened a sort of jewelry store—called a "hardware shop" in those days—in Essex Street opposite the old Liberty Tree. Here he sold gold necklaces, bracelets, lockets, rings, and medals; dies, seals, etc.; silver pitchers, teapots, spoons, sugar baskets, spectacle bows, knee and shoe buckles, candlesticks, etc. Many of these things Revere made in his own shop. In spite of the hard times, a fairly good business with the wealthier families was developed. He also made frames for Copley's famous portraits.

In 1789 he started an iron and brass foundry at the lower end of Foster Street, near Lynn Street, now the Causeway. In 1792 he took his son Joseph into this business. They began the casting of church bells and built up a considerable trade in this line throughout eastern Massachusetts.

In 1794 they began the casting of brass cannon and the manufacture of metal fittings for ships. They were the first concern in this country to smelt copper ore and to refine and roll it, and were very successful in the handling of malleable copper. In 1798 they made the bolts, spikes, pumps, etc., for the

United States frigate *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides."

In 1801 they purchased the powder mill at Canton and commenced the erection of new buildings there. In 1802 they furnished the metal—over six thousand square feet of it—for recoppering the dome of the State House in Boston. They also made copper bottoms for seventy-four new gunboats for the Government.

In October, 1804, the roof was blown off the factory in Boston and they moved the works to Canton, retaining business headquarters in Boston. In 1809 they made the copper sheets for two boilers for the *Livingston* and *Fulton* steamboats on the Hudson River. Joseph Warren Revere continued this business at Canton after his father's death.

Paul Revere was one of the best known members of the Masonic fraternity in America. He entered St. Andrew's Lodge in 1760, became Master in 1770, and was Grand Master of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge from 1795 to 1797. In this capacity he assisted Governor Samuel Adams in laying the cornerstone of the State House, July 4, 1795. He made jewels and insignia for the Masons and engraved and printed elaborate membership certificates, etc.

Revere was largely instrumental in founding the

Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association in 1795 and served as its president till 1799. He was also one of the incorporators of the Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1798.

He died at his home in Charter Street, Boston, May 10, 1818, at the age of eighty-three, and was laid to rest in the old, historic Granary Burial Ground. He had been successful in business and left a fortune of $31,000. He was distinctly a man of the times, and was greatly honored in his community. He was a big, virile man, active and in his youth fiery, but possessing also a strong vein of artistic feeling and creative impulse.

Apart from his ability as a manufacturer, Paul Revere was a true craftsman, and his craftsmanship was threefold: he was a bell founder, an engraver, and a silversmith of great skill and talent.

He learned the art of bell casting from Col. Aaron Hobart. Only a few large bells had been made in this country prior to 1770, including the historic Liberty Bell of Philadelphia. Revere had been a member of the guild in charge of the eight-bell chime in Christ Church and had long been interested in the subject. His first attempt was in recasting the old bell of the New Brick Church, afterward known as the Second Church of Boston, in 1792.

Revere's bookplate, drawn and engraved by himself.

A Revere teapot of great beauty. Clearwater Collection.

This early work was rough and unsatisfactory, but the subtleties of the art were soon mastered, and by 1803 the concern had cast sixty church bells. Their advertisement read as follows: "Paul Revere and Son at their Bell and Cannon Foundry at the North part of Boston Cast Bells and Brass Cannon of all Sizes and all kinds of Composition Work. Manufacture Sheets, Bolts, Spikes, Nails, &c., from Malleable Copper and Cold Rolled. N. B. Cash for Old Brass and Copper."

In 1804 Revere sent his son, Joseph Warren, to England and the Continent, to study the art, and this expedition, together with their own experience, taught them how to perfect their product. Their masterpiece was the bell cast in 1816 for old King's Chapel to replace the one that was cracked in tolling the Peace of 1814. This bell was paid for at the rate of twenty-five cents per pound. Its strong, mellow reverberation is still to be heard from the massive tower. Between the years of 1792 and 1828, when Joseph Revere ceased casting bells, three hundred and ninety-eight of them were turned out from the factory, of which at least seventy-five are still in use. These were nearly all marked Paul Revere, Paul Revere & Son, or Revere & Co., with the date. Paul, Jr., the eldest son, continued in business with

his father until 1801, when he started out for himself. His bells were usually marked Revere, with no date.

As a copper-plate engraver, Revere was self-taught, and between 1766 and 1775 he turned out considerable work. In 1765 he engraved the scores for "A Collection of Psalm Tunes," published by Josiah Flagg and himself in Boston. This was followed by other music books, book illustrations, seals and book plates, paper money, portraits, and historical and political cartoons.

As a caricaturist he gained a wide reputation, due as much to his cleverness in selecting his subjects, perhaps, as to his style of delineation. This style was crude, somewhere between Hogarth and the comic valentines of a decade ago; but it was not entirely without merit and it deserves our consideration because of its place in the history of the art of engraving as well as in the history of American independence.

The most famous of the old prints is the Boston Massacre, published in 1770. With the inscriptions it measures eight and one-half by nine and three-fourths inches, and was somewhat crudely colored by hand.

One of the rarest subjects and one of the most

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King Street
unhappy Sufferers were Mess.rs Sam.l Gray Sam.l Maverick, Jam.s Caldwell, Crispus Attucks & Patrick Carr
Killed Six wounded two of them (Christ.r Monk & John Clark) Mortally

"The Boston Massacre," the most famous of Revere's engravings.

"Harvard College," by Joseph Chadwick and Paul Revere.

popular when published was the Harvard College group, drawn by Joseph Chadwick and engraved by Revere.

Others of particular interest are the Repeal of the Stamp Act, published in 1766, a View of Boston Harbor, showing the location of the British ships of war, published in 1770; the Landing of the British, published in 1774. In all, Revere engraved three different views of Boston Harbor. He also engraved portraits and caricatures of prominent men.

In 1775, when Revere was commissioned to make our first national paper money, copper plate was so scarce in this country that he took half of the Harvard College view and engraved the new bill on the back of that. This plate is preserved in the archives of the Commonwealth.

Other special work by Paul Revere includes the seal of Phillips Andover Academy, still in use; the first state seal of Massachusetts, made in 1775, and the second state seal, 1780. He is also known to have made a number of bookplates, though only a few of these can now be identified. Among those which he signed were bookplates made for Gardiner Chandler, David Greene, Epes Sargent, William Wetmore, and himself.

After 1775 the war took up most of Revere's at-

tention, and after 1780 his manufacturing enterprises, so that practically all his engravings are pre-Revolutionary.

The illustrations shown herewith are the famous Harvard College and Boston Massacre views, both the property of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. The latter has been copied, both honestly and fraudulently, but only three or four authentic originals are known to be in existence, though there must be many others tucked away in storerooms and garrets. Harvard owns one of these originals, for which the university or its benefactor is said to have paid about $700.

The interest in Revere silver is indicated by the fact that sixty-five pieces were shown at the splendid exhibition of American silverware at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1906. Nearly every collection boasts its Revere pieces, and it is safe to say that the work of no other American silversmith has attracted so much attention or is valued more highly to-day.

Paul Revere's silverware is distinguished by exquisite beauty of design and workmanship. Its great variety of form is shown in the accompanying illustrations. His style was based upon that of the

Repoussé sugar bowl. An example of Revere's later work.

A Paul Revere pitcher owned by Mr. George Francis Dow, Salem, Mass.

English silversmiths of the eighteenth century, known as the Georgian style, but he added thereto the touch of his own master hand and a superb feeling for grace of line and proportion. His work compares favorably with that of the best English silversmiths of the period.

The decoration of Revere silver is of equal merit. The old Boston families, with their mingling of aristocratic and democratic tastes, were fond of crests, armorial designs, and cartouches enclosing initials, names, or inscriptions. This gave Revere a rare opportunity to exercise his talent for engraving and repoussé work.

The fact that there were three silversmiths by the name of Paul Revere has occasioned some slight confusion, but by far the greatest quantity of ware was produced by the patriot. That attributed to his son is practically negligible. Some of the work of his father still exists and shows considerable merit, but it is exceedingly rare.

There are no certain rules for distinguishing between the wares of father and son. Practically all the pieces bearing the signature P. REVERE were unquestionably the work of the father, though this mark appears also on a few pieces that bear evidence

of a later craftsmanship than his. It is possible that the patriot may have used his father's mark for a short time after the latter's death.

The father's earliest mark consisted of the initials P R in a straight-topped shield, surmounted by a crown. Most of his existing work bears the mark P. REVERE in a narrow impressed rectangle. This mark the son changed slightly, using the name and narrow rectangle, but leaving off the initial of the first name, and substituting a small dot in its place. This mark appears on most of Paul Revere's silver, but occasionally he used a script monogram, PR, in an oval or rectangle, especially on his spoons.

Paul Revere's most famous piece, and the premier piece of silverware in this country, is the large punch bowl made for the Sons of Liberty and now owned by Mr. Marsden J. Perry of Providence. There are in existence a few other pieces of historic significance, but for the most part Revere produced the type of domestic ware generally in fashion at that time. The early American silversmiths and their work will be discussed more fully in another chapter.

It is impossible to place a correct money value on Revere silver. Perhaps $50 to $100 an ounce comes fairly near to an average estimate, but much of it is practically priceless.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER AMERICAN SILVERSMITHS

THAT silversmithing was one of the most extensively practised industrial arts in this country, not only in the eighteenth but also in the seventeenth century, is evidenced by the amazing number of men engaged in it. Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey has collected the names of about four hundred who plied their trade in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia before 1800, and Mr. George Munson Curtis has recorded the names of over two hundred who worked in the State of Connecticut prior to 1830. Add to these the names of those in Baltimore, Newport, and elsewhere, and the list assumes astonishing proportions, quite at variance with our ideas regarding the poverty of the Colonies and the young nation.

The present widespread interest in American silverware is of recent development. In fact, a decade ago the notion was prevalent that most of the old

silver in this country was of English origin. The splendid loan exhibition of American silverware held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1906 was largely instrumental in dispelling this idea. On that occasion three hundred and thirty-two pieces of early American silverware were shown, including the work of some ninety silversmiths of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the American public had its eyes opened to the excellence and beauty of their craftsmanship. Again, in 1909, at the Hudson-Fulton Celebration in New York, about one hundred and fifty pieces of American silver were on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, including the work of forty silversmiths of New York State. The excellent work of Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey and Mr. John Henry Buck in preparing the catalogues for these exhibitions had much to do with our present knowledge of and interest in this subject.

The process of manufacture, which is described in detail by Mr. Halsey in a footnote in the Boston Museum catalogue, consisted, briefly, in casting the metal in sheets thinner than an ingot, and fashioning the various pieces from these sheets. They were first rolled or hammered to the requisite thickness, cut out with shears, and hammered, in the case of hollow ware, over a mold or form. The finer finishing was

A collection of silver porringers from the Boston exhibit, arranged in chronological order. The makers are Dummer, Cony, Edwards, Cowell, Dixwell, John Burt, Hurd, Samuel Burt, Revere, and Swan.

done with the hammer. Handles, etc., were cast in pewter, lead, or sand molds and finished by hand tools. Engraving was the principal form of decoration relied on, with some repoussé work. During the last half of the eighteenth century the style of these decorations was for the most part armorial and rococo. The older ware, which was made from rolled and hammered ingots, presents a softer sheen, more pleasing to the connoisseur, than the harder polish of the later ware made from thinner metal sheets.

"This silver," to quote Mr. Halsey, "is of the period when the ancient geometrical shapes held sway among craftsmen; when purity of form, sense of proportion, and perfection of line were preferred to elaborateness of design." For sheer grace of form, indeed, it would be difficult to improve upon the best examples of this period.

In New York, Dutch and Huguenot elements entered into the development of style, but in New England the ideals of the Scotch and English designers of the time formed the basis of the work, producing a sort of modified and simplified Georgian. But the American silversmiths did not copy—they created. They made no attempt to reproduce the more elaborate styles of English baronial and ecclesiastical

plate, but worked along more austerely classic lines, softened by the magic touch of native artistry.

Marks on American silver are not an infallible guide to their age or origin, for there was no hall or guild in America such as exerted so complete a control over the craft in England. American silver bears no date letter as English ware does. The American silversmiths did mark their work, however, and pretty generally with their names or initials, so that the questions of where made and by whom can usually be answered satisfactorily.

As a rule the earliest marks were fashioned after those used by the English silversmiths of the period, and consisted of the initials of the makers enclosed in shields or circles, sometimes surmounted by a crown. Some makers also used personal emblems, such as John Cony's rabbit and Andrew Tyler's cat. After about 1725 the initials gave place generally to the full surname, often preceded by the first initial or the given name. Mr. Buck, in his "Old Plate," reproduces the more important of the American marks.

Probably the earliest piece of silverware made in this country was the spoon. The constantly changing shape of this article presents an interesting study in style development which lack of space forbids our

Communion cups owned by the Congregational Church at Stratford, Conn. The six caudle cups are by Cony, Noyes, and Cowell, the two beakers by Hurd, and the chalice by Dummer.

Baptismal basin by Kneeland (Boston, about 1735); caudle cups by Dummer and Dixwell. Owned by the Center Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn.

Alms basin by Revere, flagons by the Burts, beakers by Hull, Dummer, and others. Owned by the First Church of Christ, Marblehead, Mass.

going into here—the fig-shaped bowl and hexagonal stem of the seventeenth century followed by the oval bowl, flat stem, trefoil handle, and the rat-tail junction of stem and bowl; then the rounded stem, with the handle turning upward on the front side; the double drop and turned-down handle; after 1760 the pointed ends and heart-shaped bowl, then the round ends, and the fiddle pattern. This development has been traced very minutely by Mr. Luke Vincent Lockwood in *Country Life in America* for December, 1913.

Among the pieces most interesting to collectors are the porringers. This name was originally applied in England to a two-handled cup, often with a cover, similar to what became known in this country as a caudle-cup. In America the name has been universally applied to round, saucer-like vessels with flat, open-work handles or "ears," which were made in considerable quantities up to 1825. It has been variously stated that they were used for eating porridge, for heating liquids over lamps, for wine tasting, and, especially in England, as physicians' cupping and bleeding bowls. This last is a tradition that dies hard, but there is certainly no evidence in this country that the porringer was ever used for anything but a general utility table dish. Usually only

one or two were owned in a family, while actual porridge dishes would be likely to be found in sets. So far as our evidence goes, the porringer was used on the table for sauce, preserves, gravy, etc., and perhaps occasionally for some beverage.

At any rate, the porringer is a quaint vessel, no longer in use and hence definitely belonging to an elder day. The variation in the patterns of the handles forms an indication of the period of manufacture, and this development has been studiously traced by Mr. Lockwood. In depth and diameter these porringers varied, too, most of them being five or six inches across, but some larger and some smaller than that. This variation in size and form is, indeed, one of the charms of old silver, and is easily explained. The silversmith did not make up a stock of goods, many from one model, and though he often copied his own patterns there was always a greater or less variation. Then, too, the ware was made usually from the actual coin brought in by the customer, and the amount of this often determined the size of the piece. No two pieces, therefore, are exactly alike, unless ordered at the same time—a condition which never fails to appeal to the collector.

Drinking vessels of various sorts, with and without handles, were very numerous. Drinking, as a

Old silver beaker from New York, Dutch type, maker unknown; and communion beakers by Dummer and Hull.

A remarkable teapot in the Clearwater Collection. Probably made by Daniel Rogers in Newport about 1750.

social and ceremonial custom, was more common in the eighteenth century than it is to-day, and its equipment was somewhat elaborate. Tippling, in fact, was a prevalent American vice, and there were the proper vessels in both silver and glass for rum, wine, beer, cider, toddy, punch, and flip. In New England, especially, the quantities of cider consumed were astounding, the good fathers apparently living according to the letter of the text, "Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples." There were tankards, six or seven inches high, with S-shaped handles, straight, tapering sides, and hinged covers; cans or mugs, somewhat smaller, usually with curved sides and without covers; flagons, like larger tankards, commonly used with communion services; tumbler-shaped beakers, chalices, and caudle-cups.

Most of the silversmiths made ecclesiastical plate, including communion services, alms basins, and baptismal basins. Many of our older churches still treasure their original pieces.

Tea and coffee pots were not common here till about 1730, but they are to be found among the finest examples of the Revolutionary period. The teapots were oval, round, bell-shaped, pear-shaped, conical, or rectangular, with straight or S-shaped spouts, the earlier ones being very small. The first coffee pots

were plain, tapering, and cylindrical in form; later examples were curved and more ornate.

There were beautiful hot-water urns; braziers, the forerunners of the modern chafing-dish; candlesticks, rarely found to-day; sauce-boats, creamers, salt cellars, lemon strainers for punch, sugar bowls, punch bowls, trays, plates, platters, and other pieces, most of which have been carefully analyzed and classified by Mr. Lockwood.

Of the silversmiths themselves a large volume could be written, for they were numerous and their position in early American society was an honorable one. Many of them were wealthy and, like Paul Revere, held positions of importance in the councils of the Colonies and of the young nation. Some lived lives of adventure and romance. In the present discussion, however, we can but mention a few of those who exercised the most telling influence on the development of their craft in this country.

Boston, in those days, was our wealthiest and most cultured port, and it was there that the silversmiths thrived in the greatest numbers and produced the largest amount of silverware to be found to-day. Much of it was made from Spanish coin taken in trade with the West Indies.

OTHER AMERICAN SILVERSMITHS

Of the seventeenth-century silversmiths in Boston, the most famous was John Hull. His diary, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, records the life of a successful merchant prince of old New England. He was born in 1624 in Leicestershire, England, came to Boston in 1635, learned the goldsmith's trade, and became a Freeman in 1649. He acquired wealth in his craft and as a merchant engaged in the West Indian trade. He was also a banker, like other men of his calling. He was active in public life, serving as town treasurer in 1660, as Representative from Wenham in 1668, and as treasurer of the Colony in 1676. He was also a captain in the old Artillery Company. He was a man of learning and a devout church member, being one of the founders of the old First Church of Boston.

Antedating Hull was Robert Sanderson, who came over to Hampton in 1638, became a Freeman in 1639, and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts. In 1652 and General Court of Massachusetts, disregarding the higher Court of England, ordered that a mint be set up in Boston and appointed Hull mint-master. He chose Sanderson as his colleague, and also made him a partner in the silversmith trade. They obtained dies from Joseph Jenks of Lynn, our first iron

founder, and continued for thirty years to coin the famous pine-tree shillings. Hull died in 1683 and Sanderson ten years later.

Jeremiah Dummer (1645–1718) was the son of one of the early settlers of Massachusetts and was an apprentice of John Hull, having been bound to him from 1659 to 1667. He became a man of importance and substance as well as a skilled silversmith. He served as an officer in the artillery, as selectman, justice of the peace, treasurer of his county, a judge of one of the inferior courts, and one of the Council of Safety of 1689. In 1710 he engraved and printed the first paper currency for Connecticut. He was the father of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer of Massachusetts. His silverware was represented in the Boston exhibition of 1906 by twelve pieces.

The next eminently prosperous silversmith in Boston was John Cony (1655–1722). He was a brother-in-law of Dummer and very likely learned his trade from him. He was an engraver as well as a silversmith and is supposed to have made the plates for the first paper money in America. Cony was a prominent member of the Second Church of Boston and in 1689 was one of the original subscribers toward the erection of King's Chapel.

Mugs or cans by Andrew Tyler of Boston and Caesar Griselm of Philadelphia. Clearwater Collection.

Loving cup by R. Swan and a plain silver tankard made by Cary Dunn about 1780.

John Edwards (1687–1743) was the son of a Boston surgeon and a man of education and high social position. He was a maker of fine silverware, with a shop at 6 Dock Street, and was one of the wealthy men of his time. The inventory of his estate showed a value of £4,840. His son Thomas (1725–55) carried on his business after him; his brother Samuel and his nephew Joseph were also goldsmiths, and his brother-in-law, John Noyes.

The most interesting Boston silversmith of the first half of the eighteenth century, and perhaps the finest craftsman of them all, was Edward Winslow. He was born in 1669, being the grandson of John Winslow, who came over in the *Fortune* in 1623. On his mother's side he was descended from Anne Hutchinson. He received his goldsmith's permit from the selectmen in 1702. He served as constable, tithingman, overseer of the poor, colonel of the Boston Regiment, captain of the Artillery Company, sheriff of Boston from 1728 to 1743, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1743 till his death in 1753.

Other Boston silversmiths whose work has proved especially fascinating to collectors were David Jesse (died 1708), John Dixwell (1680–1735), James Turner (middle of the century), William Cowell

(1682–1736), William Cowell, Jr. (1712–1761), and Andrew Tyler (1691–1741).

After Winslow's day the trade gradually became concentrated more or less in the hands of the Hurds, the Burts, and the Reveres.

John Burt, who died in 1745, is thought to have been an apprentice of Timothy Dwight (1654–1692). He was a prominent Bostonian and very wealthy for that time, his estate being appraised at £6,460. He produced a considerable amount of fine silverware, being represented at the Boston exhibit by a dozen pieces. He was succeeded by his two sons, Samuel (1724–1754) and Benjamin (1729–1804). To the latter we are indebted for a large proportion of the finer ware of his time.

Captain Jacob Hurd (1702–58) was one of the largest producers of his craft, eighteen examples of his work being exhibited in Boston in 1906. He was succeeded by his sons Nathaniel and Benjamin. The former (1729–77) became famous as a copper-plate engraver. He made portraits of prominent men, English and American, as well as American scenes and bookplates. The old Harvard College bookplates were made by him. Daniel Henchman (1731–1775), Jacob Hurd's son-in-law, was also a silversmith.

A teapot by Cony and a coffee pot by Winslow. From the Clearwater Collection.

Coffee pots by John Cony and Pygan Adams.

OTHER AMERICAN SILVERSMITHS

Although nearly two hundred silversmiths plied their trade in New York prior to 1800, there is comparatively little old silver of New York origin to be found to-day outside of the old churches. While New York in the early days was an important trading center, money was scarce and silverware an unknown luxury in most of the homes.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the New York silverware was chiefly Dutch in style; after that the English influence became predominant. The church communion services, with their engraved beakers and later chalices, and household plates, mugs, tankards, flagons, and teapots comprise the major portion of early New York silverware now extant. The tankards were especially fine.

Nor do the names of the early silversmiths of New York suggest as much of romance or historical interest as do those of Boston. They were, nevertheless, men of importance in the community.

One of the earliest of the Dutch silversmiths was Ahasuerus Hendricks, who was born in Holland and came to this country at some time prior to 1675. He held the offices of constable and collector and was a prominent member of the Dutch Reformed Church. He lived in Smith Street.

A contemporary was Carol Van Brugh, who lived

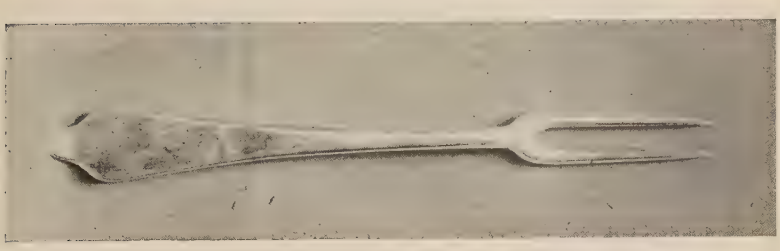
in the Fort. He was the son of an alderman and himself became high constable in 1689. He was the maker of a gold cup presented to Governor Fletcher in 1693.

Le Roux was the name of a family of Huguenot silversmiths who worked in New York for over half a century. Bartholomew Le Roux, the earliest of them, took a prominent part in the Leisler Rebellion in 1689, as did also John Windower, another silversmith. Le Roux later became a constable, assessor, collector, and assistant alderman. He died in 1713.

Jacob and Hendrick Boelen, father and son and also partners, were Dutch silversmiths who came to New York shortly after 1680 and enjoyed a large share of the trade in that city during the closing years of the century. The father was an assessor, brantmaster, and alderman.

Among the earliest native silversmiths were Jacobus and Johannes Van der Spiegel. The former was an assessor and constable. Others of Dutch descent were Garret Onclebagh, an alderman who was convicted of coining money; Cornelius Kierstede, a man of high social connections who afterward moved to New Haven; Bartholomew Schaats; and the Van Dycks, who held a large part of the silver trade for half a century, beginning about 1700.

Brazier by Edward Winslow.



A rare piece of silverware—two-tined fork by John Noyes, first half of the eighteenth century.

A brazier made by Jacob Hurd of Boston, showing exquisite workmanship. Clearwater Collection.

Peter Van Dyck was a native New Yorker who may have learned his trade from Bartholomew Le Roux. He was a constable and an assessor and withal a craftsman of artistic gifts surpassing those of most of his contemporaries.

Charles Le Roux, the son of Bartholomew, carried on his father's business after his death and also figured as an engraver and as sealmaker to the city. He also became an alderman and an attorney. His gold and silver snuff-boxes were famous.

Of the eighteenth-century silversmiths in New York there were William Huertin, a Huguenot; George Ridout, who came from London in 1745; John and Peter Targee; Richard Van Dyck, son of Peter, whose store was in Hanover Square; Cary Dunn, who worked from 1765 to 1796 and made popular the pineapple style; Adrian Bancker, Freeman Woods, Myer Myers, Jabez Halsey, and a hundred others of greater or less importance.

In Philadelphia about one hundred silversmiths had been at work prior to 1800. One of the earliest was Cæsar Griselm, or Ghiselin, who came over with William Penn and who made silver spoons of English design.

Among the most prominent silversmiths in Philadelphia were Philip Syng (1676–1739) and his son

Philip, who was born in 1703, retired in 1772, and died in 1789. The son was a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He made the famous inkstand, now in Independence Hall, in which the quills were dipped that signed the Declaration of Independence.

Others whose work was of superior quality were John Hutton (1684–1792), John David (1763–1797), Elias Boudinst or Boudinot, who worked about 1747 to 1749, Joseph Anthony, Joseph Shoemaker, and Daniel Dupuy.

Newport was another town where the craft flourished, for it must be remembered that it was a wealthier place than New York from 1726 until the Revolution. The principal silversmith there was Samuel Vernon (1687–1737), who made quantities of tankards, pitchers, porringers, cups, spoons, pepper shakers, knee and shoe buckles, etc. His mark consisted of the initials S. V. above a clover leaf or cross inside a heart. Other Newport silversmiths, thriving about the middle of the eighteenth century, were Jonathan Otis and Daniel Rogers. After the Revolution, Providence became the center of the trade for Rhode Island, the prominent names being Saunders, Pitman, and Cyril or Seril Dodge. To a

later period belongs Jabez Gorham, born in Providence in 1792, and founder of a celebrated house of silversmiths.

The most romantic figure among the Rhode Island silversmiths was Samuel Casey, who was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged for counterfeiting. The night before the execution was to take place he was rescued, was placed on horseback, and escaped, never to be heard from again.

As Mr. Curtis's investigations have shown, the towns of Connecticut supported a large number of skilled silversmiths. The earliest on record was Job Prince of Milford, who died about 1703 and about whom very little is known. In Norwich René Grignon, a Huguenot, made silverware for a short time between 1708 and 1715.

New Haven was the city of first importance in Connecticut for this trade, with Hartford second. The pioneer in New Haven was Cornelius Kierstead (or Kierstede), who came from New York in 1722. Others followed, including Captain Robert Fairchild, Abel Buel, and Ebenezer Chittenden in New Haven; John Potwine, Colonel Miles Beach, James Ward, and James Tiley of Hartford; Major Jonathan Otis of Middletown; and Captain Pygan Adams of New London, who was a prominent mer-

chant, church member, and member of Assembly, and one of the best of the Connecticut silversmiths.

The trade seems to have thrived more or less in various Massachusetts towns—at Newburyport, Salem, Worcester, Roxbury, Hingham, and Hull. In Newburyport the Moulton family monopolized the trade for one hundred and twenty years, beginning with William Moulton in 1690. Joseph Moulton, who practised his craft during the last half of the eighteenth century, added to his fortune by fitting out privateers to prey upon British commerce.

Baltimore, Albany, Troy, Trenton, and other cities had their famous silversmiths, as well as many of the smaller towns. In fact, almost every American town in the eighteenth century had its silversmith, who may also have been the clockmaker, blacksmith, or innkeeper, and who made spoons and silver plate to order, made and repaired jewelry, and did engraving. As the nineteenth century advanced these local craftsmen became fewer until, about the middle of the century, the trade came into the hands of large manufacturers.

Collectors have fully appreciated the beauty and historic interest of American silverware for only a few years, but it is now being sought for more earnestly than that of English make. The result has

Silver porringer made by Samuel Vernon of Newport, about 1725. Truax Collection.

Silver sweetmeat box made by Winslow in 1702. Now owned by Mr. George S. Palmer, New London, Conn.

been a rapid increase in values. The record price of $1,650 an ounce, paid at Christie's in London for a piece of Charles II silver, has not been approached in this country, and it is doubtful if such inflated values will ever be reached here. Several hundred dollars for a single tankard, however, is not uncommon, though most of the finer pieces are out of the market and are not purchasable at any price. It would be almost impossible to appraise accurately rare examples of Vernon's, Winslow's, or Peter Van Dyck's work, or the best of Paul Revere's.

As a rough basis for the valuation of ordinary beakers, tankards, porringers, and other hollow ware, the following figures may serve: Pieces made up to 1750, $20 or more an ounce; 1750 to 1800, $5 to $10 an ounce; 1800 to 1840, $1 to $5 an ounce. Plates and other flatware usually bring lower figures, while spoons are comparatively common. Eighteenth-century spoons are worth $8 or $10, and nineteenth-century spoons $2 to $3 apiece.

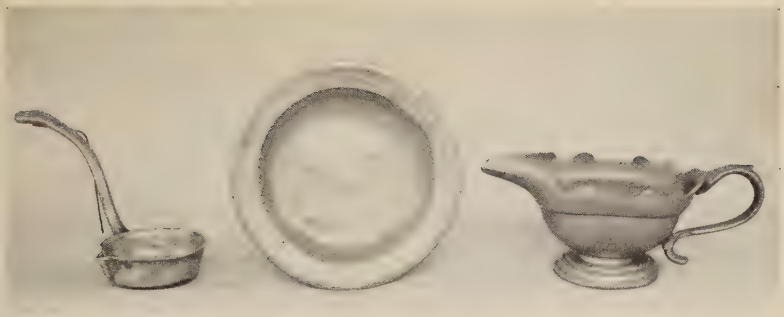
With such values current, there is naturally a temptation to counterfeit old silver; but while a set of rules for determining authenticity could be given, none would prove infallible. The only safe way is to secure the services of an expert in making any considerable purchase.

CHAPTER X

AMERICAN PEWTERERS AND BRASIERS

PEWTER ware, of both American and foreign manufacture, was very common in this country from 1650 to 1800. In fact, it was in more general use here, particularly in the rural sections where the people could not afford much silver, than it was in England. After 1780, and especially after 1800, there was a tendency to vary the alloy, so that much of the later ware cannot be classed as genuine pewter. By 1825 its use had been practically superseded by china and britannia ware, though it was made in limited quantity as late as 1840, not to mention the modern reproductions.

Pewter is an alloy, the chief ingredient of which is tin, with usually a fairly large percentage of lead, though copper and other metals were used to some extent. There was no Pewterers' Company or other guild in this country to control the manufacture, but the alloy was much the same as that required in



Ladle, dish, and sauce boat in the Bolles collection of American pewter at the Metropolitan Museum.

Pewter plates in the Bolles Collection.

England. A more detailed description of the material and the processes of manufacture is hardly necessary in the present discussion.

The forms and styles employed by American pewterers followed, in general, those of their English contemporaries. Much pewter was imported from England and it was natural for the American makers to follow its style. It is not unlikely, even, that some of our craftsmen used molds imported from England. But a few of them did add the personal touch and developed something approaching an American style.

In general, pewter does not lend itself to ornateness, and the plainer, simpler forms, recognizing the limitations of the material, are the best. Those which attempted to ape the current styles in silver failed of their purpose. The best of the American pewterers understood this, and their work, as represented by the plainer candlesticks, plates, mugs, etc., often shows a fine appreciation of form and finish and the artistic possibilities of the medium in which they worked.

The earlier ware, with its hammer marks, its handmade look, and its soft luster, appeals most strongly to the collector. As the alloy deteriorated after 1780, so did the forms, becoming slenderer but dis-

playing less of the robust grace characteristic of good pewter.

All sorts of domestic utensils and many other articles were made of pewter. There were beakers, tankards, flagons, caudle-cups, mugs or cans, measures, pitchers, bowls, plates, platters, porringers, sometimes called posset-cups or posnets, ewers, basins, candlesticks, and candle molds. Betty lamps and rush lamps were usually made of brass, but pewter lamps for whale oil or camphine were common. Pewter salt cellars appear to have been somewhat rare here, but pewter pepper shakers are sometimes to be found. Old pewter teapots are very rare. They were probably not entirely successful because they would not stand the heat, and most of those to be found are of some harder alloy of a later date. Pewter spoons were common and followed in the main the contemporary shapes of silver spoons. Pewter was not a rigid enough material for forks.

Pewter communion services were used to some extent in country churches, though much less than in Scotland. A little of this ecclesiastical ware is still treasured, but most of it was made after 1780 and is not pure pewter.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries much of the household pewter was made not by pro-

American pewter jugs. Bolles Collection.

Pewter beakers. Bolles Collection.

Jugs or flagons. Bolles Collection.

fessional pewterers, but was cast in molds, more or less crudely, by various individuals. There were a few pewterers here as early as the seventeenth century, however, chiefly English craftsmen who settled in Boston, Salem, Plymouth, and, somewhat later, in New York. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were native craftsmen at work in all the larger cities.

The early American pewterers followed the English custom of impressing a touch or trade-mark on their ware, the eagle being a favorite emblem. Often, though not always, this was accompanied by the maker's name. The earlier touches are generally the clearest and best. The later pewterers often used only the name, and many American pieces bear no mark at all. It is therefore often difficult to determine age, maker, or authenticity.

No one name stands out as that of the master pewterer of the period, as is the case in some of the other crafts, and there were doubtless many skilled craftsmen whose names have been lost to us entirely. Mr. Edwards J. Gale has compiled the longest list, and that contains only forty-four names, dating from 1650 to 1825, and must of necessity be very incomplete. We know less about these pewterers than about the silversmiths. For one thing, theirs was a

humbler and less remunerative trade. But there are a few whose names deserve to be permanently recorded.

At first Boston was the principal seat of the manufacture and distribution of pewter, but by the middle of the eighteenth century New York had become a close rival and there were other places where the trade flourished. Mr. Gale gives the names of twenty-one New York pewterers and only fourteen Bostonians, but that is partly because of the accessibility of the New York names in the city directories of 1786 and after. Two of the most important of all—Boardman and Danforth—lived in Hartford, Connecticut.

The name Boardman is one that appears frequently on pewter and may give rise to some confusion. In the first place, there was a well-known pewterer named Thomas Boardman, who was at work in London about the middle of the eighteenth century. His work, however, being of an earlier period, can easily be distinguished from that of the American Boardmans. He also used a different touch, with the name Boardman or Thomas Boardman.

In the second place, there was more than one Boardman concern in this country. In the New

York Directory of 1824 the name appears as Timothy Boardman & Co., at 173 Water Street. In the 1828 directory, Boardman & Hart are found at 178 Water Street—probably the same Boardman. In 1832 they appear to have moved to Burling Slip, where they made britannia ware until 1841. Some of their ware was marked with the firm name.

The most famous pewterer of the name, however, was Thomas D. Boardman of Hartford, who did his best work about 1825. Only his earlier ware is worth consideration, for much of his metal is of inferior quality and he soon went into the britannia business. On his larger ware his mark was an eagle with Thomas D. above and Boardman below. On his smaller ware he used a different eagle, with T. D. B. below. The word Hartford in a plain rectangle generally appears as a separate mark.

Samuel Danforth, also of Hartford, worked somewhat earlier in the nineteenth century. His touch was a spread eagle with Samuel above and Danforth below, accompanied by the word Hartford in a separate rectangle. He also frequently used hall-marks consisting of his initials, a spread eagle, and an eight-pointed star, arranged in a row.

The Gallatin Reformed Church of Mount Ross, New York, owns two beakers, a plate, and a flagon

by Boardman, as well as a plate by Henry Will (New York, 1765–86). Two Danforth beakers are owned by the First Presbyterian Church of Orange, New Jersey.

Though the names of Boardman and Danforth are as well known as any, their work should not be ranked high either in respect to age or quality. In fact, some of our finest pewter is by unknown makers.

The earliest American pewterers on record were the following, all in Boston: Thomas Bumsteed, 1654; Thomas Clarke, 1683; John Comer, 1678; Henry Shrimpton, 1660–5; and Richard Graves, 1639, who appears to have worked also in Salem. The dates indicate the earliest mention of their names.

In the Revolutionary period Thomas Badger was a pewterer of some prominence. He had a shop on Prince Street, and his name appears in the Boston directories from 1789 to 1810. His touch was round at the top and square at the bottom, with Thomas above a spread eagle and Badger below. He also used the separate stamp, Boston.

It has been stated that Paul Revere added pewter-making to his many other accomplishments, but I have discovered no evidence of it.

Pepper shakers of American pewter. Bolles Collection.

Five pewter porringers and a strainer. Bolles Collection.

Early in the nineteenth century Mary Jackson, at the Sign of the Tankard, Cornhill, had one of the largest pewtering establishments in Boston. It was famous for its porringers.

Not much more is known about the New York pewterers than about those of Boston. In 1743, John Halden advertised pewter ware made and sold at his shop at Market Slip. In 1744, James Leddel was selling pewter at the Sign of the Platter, in Dock Street; at the end of that year he moved to the foot of Wall Street. In 1745 we find Robert Boyle dealing in pewter ware at the Sign of the Gilt Dish in Dock Street. It is doubtful, however, if Leddel or Boyle manufactured extensively.

The only pewterers mentioned by trade in New York's first City Directory in 1786 were Francis Basset, 218 Queen Street, William Kirkby, 23 Dock Street, and Henry Will, 3 Water Street. In 1794 we find the trades of plumber and pewterer combined in an advertisement of Malcolm McEwen & Son, Water Street and Beekman Slip.

Philadelphia's earliest known pewterers were James Everett and Simon Edgell, first mentioned about 1718. There was also a Cornelius Bradford before the Revolution, but most of the names belong to the later period. Charlotte Hero, widow, 230

North Second Street, and William Will, 66 North Second Street, are given as pewterers in the Philadelphia Directory of 1796. The names of C. & I. Hera—probably the same as Hero—appear again in the Philadelphia Directory of 1810. Three plates made by this firm are owned by the Princeton Theological Seminary, together with other old American pewter.

Providence supported several pewterers of distinction, notably William Calder, of 166 North Main Street, and Samuel E. Hamlin, 109 North Main Street. Both are mentioned in the Providence Directory of 1824, though Hamlin at least was at work several years before that. At about the same time G. Richardson was a pewterer at Cranston, R. I. All three used the eagle in their touches. Pewter was also made in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and elsewhere, but no records have been gathered of the pewterers.

Though pewter was very common during the eighteenth century there is less of it to be found today than might be supposed. Quantities of it were melted up in the stern days of '76 and were turned into Revolutionary bullets, and much of the later ware found its way to the junk heap when pewter went out of fashion.

American pewter, therefore, is well worth collecting, particularly the earlier ware. Of course, some discrimination should be exercised, as not all of it was good in form or finish.

When obtainable, American pewter is not excessively valuable to-day. The hollow ware is worth rather more than the flatware. Tankards are worth from $8 or $9 apiece to $15 or $18, according to age and style. Teapots are worth from $10 to $20 if genuine pewter; the later alloys have little value. Sugar bowls and porringers are worth $4 or $5, pepper shakers $2 or $3, plain bowls about $2, and spoons $1 or $2 for the ordinary types. The smaller plates may often be bought for $1 each, and are seldom worth over $3 or $4. Medium-sized plates and trenchers are worth from $3 to $6, and the largest plates and platters from $6 to $10.

In spite of these comparatively low prices, pewter has been faked to a considerable extent. Pewter-making is not a lost art, and counterfeiters have discovered how to make it look old. Some of it has even been made from the original molds, and the counterfeit is not at all easy to detect. Within the past ten or fifteen years there has been a considerable traffic in bogus jugs, flagons, porringers, plates, pepper shakers, spoons, and whale-oil lamps. While it

is frequently possible for the expert to detect the fraud, the average collector will do well to verify the individual history of the piece he purchases.

COPPERSMITHS AND BRASIERS

Of the early American coppersmiths and brasiers even less is known than of the pewterers, though there were doubtless several of them among our early immigrants. During the first half of the eighteenth century a number of them came from England and settled in various parts of the country, and there were evidently Dutch and German brasiers in New York and Pennsylvania. They employed largely the forms in vogue in the old countries, so that their work is not readily distinguished from the imported ware. By the middle of the century we were making a large part of the brass and copper ware used here.

Among the brass articles that were made in this country were tea-kettles, jugs, sugar bowls, milk cans, pitchers, big round kettles, pipkins or coal scuttles, fenders, andirons and fire sets, braziers, whale-oil and camphine lamps, candlesticks, door knockers, snuffers and candle trays, tobacco boxes, thimbles, drawer pulls, handles and scutcheons, hinges, locks, eagle ornaments for Revolutionary accoutrements,

Early trefid spoon and five later ones. Bolles Collection.

American pewter lamps. Bolles Collection.

and buttons. About 1780 the character of the brass ware changed somewhat owing to the introduction of a new method of casting the copper and zinc together.

Much of the old brass and copper ware was made by obscure local craftsmen whose names have not been preserved. One of the earliest brasiers on record here was Henry Shrimpton of Boston, who died in 1665. Another famous New England brasier was Jonathan Jackson, who died in 1736. He made brass pots, kettles, skillets, hand basins, plates, saucers, spoons, knockers, candlesticks, stirrups, spurs, staples, fire-dogs or andirons, and warming-pans. At his death he left a fortune of over £8,000. His widow, Mary Jackson, and his son William continued the business at the Brazier's Head, Cornhill, Boston, though they may not have manufactured anything. Edward Jackson, another member of the family, was also a brasier.

In New York we find this advertisement dated 1743: "John Halden, brasier, from London, near the old Market Slip in New York, makes and sells all sorts of copper and brass kettles, tea-kettles, coffee potts, pye pans, warming pans, and all sorts of copper and brass ware, also sells all sorts of hard metal and pewter wares."

The 1786 New York Directory gives the names of James Kip, 59 Broadway, and Abram Montayne, 13 King Street, brass founders.

In 1802 a brass foundry called Probes' Furnace was set up in West Liberty, Pennsylvania, by an Alsatian who made many kinds of brass and copper vessels.

Such are the meager accounts that have come down to us of the brasiers. Most of them were also coppersmiths. Of those who worked in copper, Paul Revere & Son were the most notable examples.

Though many of our copper utensils were imported, it is probable that local coppersmiths made tea kettles, warming-pans, ladles, kettles, basins, candle-sticks, measures, cans, and pots. American copper hot-water urns are very rare. Copper chafing-dishes and braziers, with tea-kettle and charcoal pan, were made by the Reveres. They were usually called copper furnaces. A very fine one, of handsome design, is owned by the Concord Antiquarian Society.

While every collector appreciates the beauty of old brass and copper, it is rather difficult to attempt making a specialty of American ware. The same is true of Sheffield plate, which was probably not made in this country at all until after 1800.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY AMERICAN POTTERS

THE history of American ceramics tells a story of slower development than that of most of the other industrial arts. Building bricks were made in Virginia as early as 1612, and in New England about 1641; coarse earthenware was made in several places late in the seventeenth century; white ware was first manufactured at Burlington, New Jersey, about 1684; terra cotta roofing tiles were made in Pennsylvania prior to 1740. But no pottery of any consequence was made here till after the middle of the eighteenth century and the most significant part of the history lies within the nineteenth century. Hard porcelain was not manufactured in America till 1825.

During Colonial and Revolutionary times tableware was imported from England, France, and China, and it is for that reason that most of our col-

lecting has been of English, Canton, and Sèvres wares. Staffordshire tableware especially was made in large quantities for the American market, and it was apparently difficult, with this competition, for American manufacturers to get a foothold.

Nevertheless, with the awakening interest in American antiquities, greater attention is now being paid to such early American pottery as exists. Thus far the demand has been for Bennington and other of the later wares, but the Pennsylvania slip-decorated ware and some of the earlier pottery is now coming to the front.

Little or nothing is known of the potters who operated the small kilns that turned out the coarse domestic earthenware of the seventeenth century. Previous to 1649 there were a number of such humble potters in Virginia, and the Dutch settlers of Manhattan produced a ware not unlike Delft. In 1683 a potter and glassmaker by the name of Joshua Tittery came to Pennsylvania to practice his art, and in 1690 there was at least one potter and one maker of clay tobacco pipes in Philadelphia.

In New England John Pride of Salem was registered as a potter as early as 1641, and soon after there was a flourishing brick and tile works at Danvers. Here William Osborne started in business

Eighteenth century pewter cider jug and whale-oil lamp. Bolles Collection.

and for two centuries he and his descendants carried on the manufacture of plain earthenware or red clay pottery.

About 1684, Dr. Daniel Coxe of London, one of the proprietors and later Governor of West New Jersey, caused a pottery to be erected at Burlington, New Jersey, which was conducted by John Tatham, his agent, and Daniel Coxe, Jr., his son. They were probably the first to make whiteware in the Colonies.

For fifty years the industry seems to have been more or less at a standstill, though the obscure makers of plain earthenware continued to flourish in many parts of the country. Then, in 1735, John Remmey, a German, started a stoneware factory in New York. This business was continued by three generations of John Remmeys and was discontinued about 1820. In 1742 the firm name of Remmey & Crolius appears, and after 1762 Clarkson Crolius conducted a similar business on his own account.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the early American pottery is the slip-decorated and sgraffito ware made in eastern Pennsylvania from about the middle of the eighteenth century, or possibly before that, until well into the nineteenth. This ware was made chiefly by Germans who brought their methods and designs with them from the Rhine. There were

a few English potters among them, undoubtedly, but dishes bearing English legends are very rare. The Pennsylvania Museum has collected a large number of good examples of the ware, which has recently begun to attract the attention of private collectors as well.

The slipware is a common red, brown, or buff pottery upon which the decoration was applied in the form of a clay batter poured through a quill and allowed to dry before firing. This "slip" was cream colored, or tinted green, blue, pink, etc. The designs consisted of crude representations of men and women, birds, beasts, and flowers—the tulip predominating—executed in a sort of futurist style and often accompanied by dates, names, and legends. Cooking pots, vinegar and molasses jugs, jars, tea caddies, mugs, pitchers, coffee pots, sugar bowls, pie plates, meat and vegetable dishes, bowls, and toys were made in this ware.

The sgraffito was a similar earthenware, coated with a lighter-colored slip, in which the decorations were scratched or incised, exposing the darker body below. A transparent glaze was then applied, and after the final firing the ware showed a greenish mottled surface with dark red intaglio decorations.

A number of small potters appear to have been

engaged in this industry, some of them perhaps being farmers who employed their winter months in this way. One of the earliest on record was an Englishman, Joseph Smith, who made pottery at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, as early as 1763.

George Hübener, in Montgomery County, was the creator of some of the most elaborate designs made prior to 1786. Toward the end of the century some of the best of the ware was made by John Leedy, near Souderton, Montgomery County. His tulip designs were particularly good.

One of the Germans who appears to have attained considerable prominence in this trade early in the nineteenth century was Johannes Neesz. He operated a pottery near Tyler's Port, Montgomery County, about four miles from Souderton. He manufactured plates, mugs, vegetable dishes, etc., in both slip and sgraffito ware, and also clay toys. One or two pieces of his finer work at the Pennsylvania Museum show him to have been a craftsman of no small ability, and his decoration was always more finished and in better drawing than that of most of his contemporaries. His son, also a potter, changed the spelling of the name to John Nase.

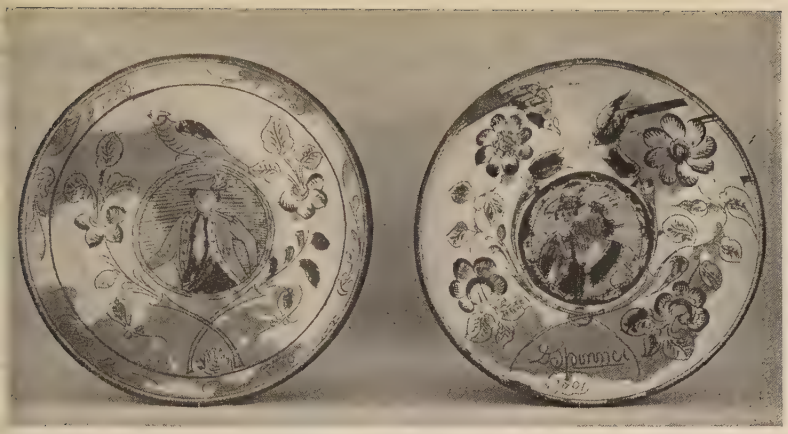
David Spinner, a potter from before 1800 until

1811, on Willow Creek, Milford Township, Bucks County, enjoyed considerable local fame. His father, Ulrich Spinner, came to America from Zurich, Switzerland, in 1739. A number of Spinner's signed pieces are in existence and they include some of the most interesting examples of Pennsylvania-German pottery. He used a variety of flower motifs, the fuchsia being a favorite with him. His pictorial treatments were more ambitious than those of most of his contemporaries and were better drawn. They included gay and courtly ladies and gentlemen, gallant soldiers, and spirited hunting scenes.

Dr. Barber gives, all told, the names of twenty-two of these potters, the majority of which are German names.

There is still a possibility of picking up this ware in Eastern Pennsylvania, and a few pieces have already found their way to the shops of dealers. They are worth anywhere from $1 up, and the values are bound to increase with the demand. A neighbor of mine recently paid $25 for an unsigned slip-decorated plate bearing a peacock and the date 1788.

During the last half of the eighteenth century cups and saucers, plates, platters, pitchers, bean pots, and jugs of coarse earthenware were being produced



Two Pennsylvania German sgraffito plates made by David Spinner in 1801. Metropolitan Museum Collection.

Pennsylvania German red clay slip-decorated ware, dated 1788, and bearing the peacock motif that was the favorite of Georg Hübener. It is a meat or vegetable dish, 14 inches in diameter, and a rare specimen. Owned by Mr. Renwick C. Hurry.

in increasing quantities. In 1751 Edward Annely of Whitestone, Long Island, advertised flower pots, garden urns, etc. At about the same time a pottery was started at Huntington, Long Island, by a man named Scudder for the manufacture of earthenware and salt-glazed stoneware. In 1775 the Huntington works passed into the hands of one Williams, and were continued under various proprietors until 1903. From the middle of the century until 1823 an earthenware pottery was operated by Thomas, John, and Paxson Vickers, successively, at West Whiteland, Chester County, Pennsylvania. From 1791 to 1811 John Curtis made a good quality of pottery in Philadelphia.

In New England, particularly in Connecticut, there were several thriving earthenware potteries. As early as 1760 a pottery and glass works had been established by Joseph C. Palmer and Richard Cranch at Germantown, now a suburb of Quincy, Massachusetts. About 1765 Abraham Hews started at Weston, Massachusetts, a pottery for the manufacture of earthenware milk pans, bean pots, jugs, pudding dishes, etc. He appears to have been a man of some prominence in his community, serving as postmaster for fifty-one years. Later the pottery became famous for terra cotta jardinières, garden

vases, etc. Abraham Hews died at the age of eighty-eight, when his son moved the works to North Cambridge, where the business has been conducted continuously ever since by the grandson and great-grandson.

In 1796, C. Potts & Son perpetrated an unintentional pun by starting an earthenware pottery on Bean Hill, Norwich, Connecticut. In 1775 a potter named Upton went from Nantucket to East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and made plates, cups, saucers, and bowls of red clay. In 1793 there was a flourishing pottery at Quasset, Windham County, Connecticut, conducted by Thomas Bugbee. He made bean pots, jugs, jars, milk pans, and ink-stands which he peddled about the country. A little later Adam States of Stonington, Connecticut, made red earthenware and also gray jugs, jars, and pots with a salt glaze. A factory at Norwalk made mugs, teapots, jars, and milk pans of red ware with a lead glaze, and also stoneware as early as 1780, and in 1790 John Stouter started an earthenware enterprise in Hartford. In 1793 John and William Norton went from Connecticut to Bennington, Vermont, and started the red earthenware works that later developed into the famous Bennington potteries.

At Morgantown, West Virginia, slip-decorated ware and lead-glazed pottery were made prior to 1785 by a man named Foulke, who was succeeded about 1800 by his foreman, John W. Thompson. Some of Thompson's ware was interesting in form and beautifully colored.

The first attempt to manufacture fine china in the Colonies was in 1769, when a pottery was erected for the purpose in Philadelphia by Gousse Bonnin and George Anthony Morris. They made bone china and cream-colored ware, both plain and decorated in blue. It is not likely that they attempted to make real porcelain. The works were run for two years and were then closed.

In the same year, 1869, efforts were made to start and maintain a china factory in Boston. Apparently this proved abortive, but the attempt attracted the attention of English potters who began coming to America.

In 1774 and 1775 Jonathan Durell of New York advertised "butter, water, pickle and oyster pots, porringers, milk pans of several sizes, jugs of several sizes, quart and pint mugs, quart, pint, and half pint bowls, of various colours, small cups of different shapes, striped and coloured dishes of divers colours, pudding pans and wash basins, sauce pans, and a

variety of other sorts of ware, too tedious to particularize, by the manufacturer, late from Philadelphia."

With the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many other potters in the field and it will be necessary to mention only the more important enterprises. Philadelphia became the center of the industry. Here Andrew Miller, who had conducted a pottery on Sugar Alley since 1791, was succeeded in 1810 by Abraham Miller, one of the most progressive potters of his day. At his factory at Seventh and Zane Streets he undertook the manufacture of glazed wares, soft-paste porcelain, white ware, Rockingham, and silver luster. He was a prominent citizen, being a leading member of the Franklin Institute and representing his district in the State Senate.

In 1808, Binney & Ronaldson made red and yellow coffee and tea sets in South Street. From 1808 to 1813 the Columbian Pottery, Alexander Trotter proprietor, manufactured tea and coffee pots, pitchers, basins, ewers, and baking dishes, also jugs and goblets of queensware. From 1808 the Washington Pottery, John Mullawney proprietor, made bricks and earthenware. David Freytag was making fine decorated china in 1811 and George Benor-

Two sgraffito plates with the popular tulip motif, dated 1810 and 1818. Metropolitan Museum Collection.

Porcelain vases, Sèvres style, probably made at the American China Manufactory in Philadelphia about 1833—the first American porcelain. Hurry Collection.

ton in 1817, and from 1817 to 1822 David G. Seixas made white crockery. In 1812, Thomas Haig, who came from Scotland, where he had learned his trade as a queensware potter, started the Northern Liberties Pottery and turned out an excellent quality of glazed red and black earthenware—teapots, coffee pots, pitchers, strainers, cake molds, and pans.

During the first quarter of the century successful potteries were established also in New York, Albany, Troy, Utica, Baltimore, Lancaster, Pittsburg, Allentown, Elizabeth, New Jersey, Middlebury, Vermont, and Jaffrey, New Hampshire.

The term antique can hardly be applied to pottery and china made after 1825, yet there are certain wares and factories of later period that are of interest to the collector and to the student of the history of American ceramics.

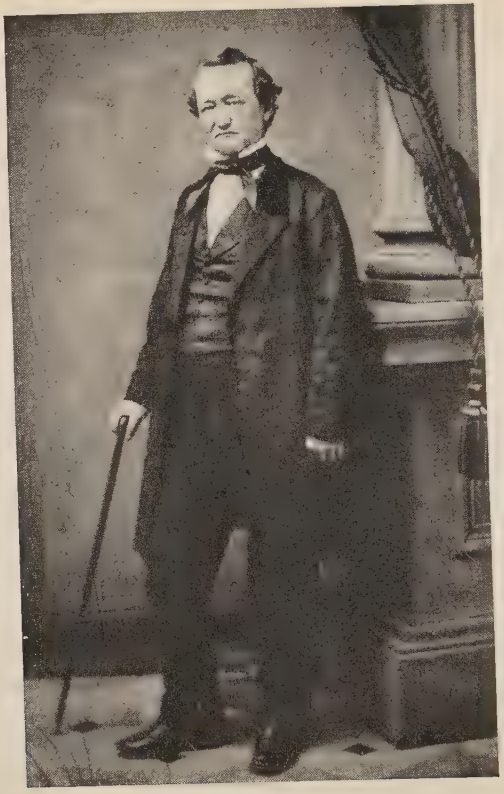
In 1825 the Jersey Porcelain and Earthenware Company was incorporated and erected a factory in Jersey City. For two or three years soft-paste porcelain was made here. The works were purchased by D. & J. Henderson about 1829, and stoneware was manufactured. In 1833, David Henderson organized the American Pottery Manufacturing Company, which turned out a variety of wares, hav-

ing chiefly a buff body of excellent quality, and including the first transfer-printed china made in this country. Some of the pitchers made by this company are especially sought by collectors, particularly toby pitchers, 1840 campaign pitchers, and the Greatbach hound-handled pitcher which was later improved upon at Bennington. A large portion of the product of this factory was marked with its name. After 1850 the establishment became known as the Jersey City Pottery.

Most important of all the developments of the second quarter of the century was the work of William Ellis Tucker and his American China Manufactory in Philadelphia. To him is due the credit of making the first American hard porcelain on a successful commercial scale. He was the son of Benjamin Tucker who kept a china shop on Market Street from 1816 to 1822. In the rear of this shop a small kiln was built for the use of the son in decorating the imported china. He began experimenting with various materials in this kiln, and about 1825 he undertook the manufacture of porcelain as a business venture. In spite of failures and discouragements he persisted until he was turning out a very fair grade of porcelain.

After the death of William Tucker in 1832, the

Christopher Webber Fenton.



Alanson Lyman.

business was continued by his brother, Thomas Tucker, in partnership with Judge Joseph Hemphill. They imported foreign artists and began to devote a good deal of attention to form and decoration. They turned out a great variety of ornamental and utility ware which enjoyed a considerable vogue among the well-to-do people of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of the vases, pitchers, and table pieces were close copies of Sèvres forms, and as many of them are unmarked they are often mistaken for French porcelain. The business did not prove a complete success financially and was discontinued about 1838. A similar ware was made in Philadelphia about 1830 by Smith, Fife & Co.

The pottery at Troy, Indiana, is interesting chiefly because it was started by James Clews, the eminent potter of Cobridge, England, who made some of the American views familiar to collectors of old blue Staffordshire ware. He came to this country after closing his English works in 1829 and, with a number of capitalists, incorporated the Indiana Pottery Company in 1837. Though started under the best of auspices, this factory was never conspicuously successful. Blue, yellow, and Rockingham wares were made here, but nothing of superior excellence. Mr. Clews returned to England, where he died in 1856,

and the business led a desultory existence for a few years longer. Mr. Clews was a skilled and enterprising potter and deserved better success here. He was the father of Henry Clews, the New York banker.

Charles Cartlidge was another potter of unusual ability who came from England, where he had worked for William Ridgway. With a Mr. Ferguson he organized the firm of Charles Cartlidge & Co. and started a pottery at Greenpoint, Long Island, in 1848. They first made porcelain buttons, and later a fine quality of decorated table china, bone porcelain tea sets, pitchers, bowls, ornaments, door plates, door knobs, curtain knobs, etc., besides some very excellent jewelry cameos and portrait busts in biscuit porcelain.

Cartlidge was a man of artistic instincts and employed the best talent he could find. His chief designer and modeler was his brother-in-law, Josiah Jones, who executed some beautiful portrait busts and ornamental ware. Other skilled decorators employed by him were Elijah Tattler and Frank Lockett.

The factory was closed in 1856 and Mr. Cartlidge died in 1860. He was prominent in his community, a leading churchman, and an authority on church

A group of Bennington pottery in the Pitkin collection at the Hartford Athenaeum, showing Rockingham and parian ware, figures and pitchers. Here are the poodles, cow creamers, a toby, the exquisite figure in parian of the girl tying her shoe, and the famous hound-handled pitcher.

music. I know of no special attempt having been made to collect Cartlidge china, but it would certainly repay the offort.

Pottery enterprises were also started previous to 1850 in New York, Philadelphia, New Brunswick, New Jersey; South Amboy, New Jersey; Louisville, Kentucky; Strasburg, Virginia; at East Liverpool, Ohio, where American Rockingham ware was first made by James Bennett in 1839; and at Bennington, Vermont, where Christopher Fenton started his famous pottery in 1846 and began the production of the first American parian ware.

CHAPTER XII

THE POTTERS OF BENNINGTON

TO class Bennington pottery with Revere silver or Stiegel glass, or with the sgraffito and slip-decorated ware of the early Pennsylvania potters, would be to commit an anachronism, for the best of the Bennington ware was made but three-score years ago. In the matter of genuine artistic merit, too, it suffers by comparison with some of the other crafts. The fact remains, however, that its unique quaintness and comparative rarity have won for it, in the interest of collectors of Americana, a place beside the products of earlier craftsmen.

As has been pointed out, the making of pottery and porcelain as an industrial art was not one of the first to be developed in this country. Much of the earlier product was plain, crude, and lacking in the elements of variety and charm that appeal to the collector. Comparatively speaking, Bennington ware is antique.

The products of which we are speaking were made

chiefly between 1847 and 1857, though the old pottery dates back half a century earlier. It was in 1793 that Capt. John Norton and his brother William moved from Sharon, Connecticut, where they had no doubt been engaged in making the coarse red earthenware famous in that section, and settled in Bennington, Vermont. Here they started an earthenware kiln, and in 1800 added the manufacture of stoneware.

This pottery was conducted almost continuously by John Norton, who died in 1828, his son Luman, and his grandson Julius, until about 1846, when Julius Norton formed a new firm with Christopher Weber Fenton and Henry D. Hall. In the north wing of the old factory they began the manufacture of white and yellow crockery and Rockingham ware, the last being a yellow ware covered with a dark brown glaze, often mottled by spattering the glaze before firing. Most of the modeling was done by John Harrison, a potter who learned his trade in England. The mark on this ware was "Norton & Fenton," impressed. It is very rare but is occasionally to be found.

Though this pottery was in the hands of the Norton family exactly one hundred years, it was Fenton who was the soul of the enterprise, the

craftsman of Bennington. He came to Bennington about 1840 and was taught the finer elements of the potter's trade by Luman Norton. It was to Fenton's skill, energy, and imagination, together with the discovery of fine kaolin clay and useful minerals in Vermont, that we are indebted for what we know as Bennington ware.

About 1848 the partnership was dissolved and Fenton formed the firm of Lyman & Fenton with Alanson Lyman, a Bennington lawyer. A little later we find the firm name changed to Lyman, Fenton & Park. The new firm made white and yellow crockery, salt-glaze stoneware, Rockingham, and a thin, white porcelain called parian ware—the first to be manufactured in the United States. On a few pieces of parian the mark "Fenton's Works, Bennington, Vermont" appears in a rectangular border, which may indicate that Fenton was in business alone for a short time before the partnership was formed.

In 1849 the firm was reorganized as the United States Pottery and a new factory was erected across the river. The old Norton plant was operated intermittently, making the plainer wares, until it was sold out in 1893, having been once burned and rebuilt in the '50's.

Four of the types of Bennington pitchers from the collection of Mr. William A. Cahill, Hoosick Falls, N. Y. From left to right they are the branch-handled pitcher, a plain pattern in scroddled ware, the tulip pattern, and Greatbach's Bennington hound-handle.

Hound-handled pitchers from the Jersey City or Trenton potteries, probably designed by Greatbach. Note the differences in the modelling of the head and forelegs of the Bennington hound above.

The United States Pottery at once undertook the production of the finer ornamental wares—Rockingham, parian, white granite ware, and a little soft-paste porcelain. In 1849 Fenton took out a patent for the coloring of glazes and for a flint-enameled ware. This was an improvement on the Rockingham and a product of great strength and variety of coloring. It included plain, mottled, and scroddled or striped ware, composed of different colored clays.

The mark adopted about 1853 for the parian ware and porcelains consisted of a raised ribbon loop bearing the unpressed letters U S P and the number of the pattern. That on the new ware was composed of the following legend, impressed, in a large oval, often nearly obliterated by the glaze: "Lyman, Fenton & Co. Fenton's Enamel. Patented 1849. Bennington, Vt." Some later products of the concern bear a smaller oval mark and the words "United States Pottery Co. Bennington, Vt."

The pottery's principal artists were Theophile Fry, who came from France or Belgium, and Daniel Greatbach, an Englishman. The latter, because he was responsible for some of the most popular designs, and because we are interested in craftsmen, deserves fuller mention.

Daniel Greatbach came from a family of noted

English potters and is said to have been at one time a modeler for the Ridgways in England. He came from Hanley, England, about 1839, and modeled some of the best wares produced at the famous potteries at Jersey City between 1839 and 1848. After that he was employed at various times in Peoria, Illinois, in Trenton, New Jersey, and in Bennington. In 1852 he established a pottery at South Amboy, New Jersey, in partnership with James Carr, but the enterprise failed. He was an artist, not a business man, and he died in poverty in Trenton. He was a remarkable character and endowed with great talent. He is described as a large, handsome man, always well dressed, and extremely courteous.

Greatbach was the originator of many of the models most popular between 1840 and 1860 in this country. Some of those which he conceived in Jersey City he altered more or less and reproduced in Bennington. Notable among these was the hound-handled pitcher, which was made at Jersey City, at Bennington, and later, in inferior quality, at Trenton. This has given rise to some confusion among collectors. But the Bennington product was much the finest, and can be distinguished by the better modeling and by the space between the hound's nose

and the edge of the pitcher. It is a shapely piece, a greyhound forming the handle and the body decorated with a hunting scene in relief. The Bennington model was produced soon after Greatbach arrived, in 1850, and was made in three sizes and in brown, blue, and green glazes—chiefly brown.

In two or three years the new concern found itself in a flourishing condition with over a hundred hands employed. In 1853 the works were enlarged so that the factory was 160 feet long, and six improved kilns were erected. The machinery was run by water power.

There were few china stores in those days and pottery goods had to be distributed largely by peddlers in both city and country. The company's selling headquarters were in Boston.

For some reason the pottery's prosperity was comparatively short-lived, and by 1857 much of the manufacturing was discontinued. The plant was closed in 1858 and most of the potters moved away to Trenton, Ohio, and Illinois. In 1863 it was reopened long enough to make use of the materials stored there and then the books were closed for good. The buildings were torn down in 1870, and in 1873 most of the patterns were destroyed by fire.

In 1858 Fenton moved to Peoria, Illinois, and in 1859 started a new pottery with Decius W. Clark, his former superintendent in Bennington. They commenced the manufacture of white granite and cream-colored wares, but the venture did not prove a success and was abandoned after about three years.

Fenton was born in Dorset, Vermont, in 1806 and learned the rudiments of his trade in a common red-clay pottery at that place. For a decade he was one of the foremost potters in the United States. He died in Joliet, Illinois, November 7, 1865. His former partner, Alanson Lyman, died in 1883, at the age of seventy-seven.

Collectors of Bennington ware have been, to a large extent, somewhat lacking in discrimination, valuing a brown pudding dish almost as highly as a finely modeled blue-and-white parian pitcher. The Rockingham and flint-enamel figures possess the quaintness that is the first attraction of Bennington ware, but the finer porcelains display more of those qualities of design and texture that ordinarily appeal to the connoisseur. It is well, therefore, to keep in mind the various kinds of china and pottery made at Bennington, and perhaps this can best be fixed by means of a recapitulation:

The recumbent cow and two kinds of tobies. Owned by Mr. William A. Cahill.

Pudding dish, coffee pot, and candlesticks in the collection of Bennington pottery at the Metropolitan Museum.

Poodles and coachman bottle from Mr. Cahill's collection. The white poodle is rare and valuable.

1846–1848. Norton & Fenton. White and yellow wares and Rockingham.

1848–1849. Fenton's Works, Lyman & Fenton, and Lyman, Fenton & Park. Salt-glaze stoneware and parian added.

1849–1858. United States Pottery. The above, and also white granite, variegated and scroddled wares, the patent flint-enameled ware, and a small amount of soft-paste porcelain.

While in many respects the Bennington figures owe much of their quaintness to a certain naïve crudity of design, they were far more carefully modeled than most of the products of other factories of the period and the glaze was more uniform, brilliant, and evenly applied, with a rich, velvety sheen. Moreover, it requires a certain sort of genius to design such fierce lions, such motherly cows, such jolly tobies.

The range of coloring in the Rockingham and flint-enamel wares included olive, green, brown, yellow, and various mixtures. In the variegated pieces the mottling and scroddling was done with an evident effort at uniformity and evenness. Brown

was the commonest color used, varying from a creamy tint to almost black. Some of the finest pieces are a deep, darkly shaded brown, slightly mottled, or in tortoise-shell effects, and bearing a hard, metallic luster. A mustard color is common, but the majority are a rich chocolate color.

The parian ware was oftenest a grayish white like marble, occasionally cream, fawn-colored, or a delicate brown. On some pieces the decoration consisted of sharply raised figures in pure white on a pitted blue ground of different shades.

A descriptive list of all the models turned out by the United States Pottery would constitute a formidable catalogue. Table ware, toilet sets, mantel ornaments, toys, plain crockery of all sorts up to a half-bushel bowl, door plates, foot warmers, door knobs, curtain knobs, and a host of other articles would have to be included. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to mention a few of the pieces most interesting to collectors.

In the Rockingham ware, pitchers, mantel ornaments, and flasks are most sought after. The ornaments include lions, dogs, deer, cows, particularly the recumbent cow, and toby jugs. A flask in the form of a book, bearing the title "Departed Spirits," is to be found in almost every collection. Rocking-

ham candlesticks and even picture frames are occasionally to be found.

The flint-enameled ware, usually plain brown or mottled, included ale jugs, jolly Dutchman and monk bottles, small figures, shovel-and-tongs rests, door plates, goblets and tumblers, goblet-shaped vases, milk and sap pans, pitchers, cuspidores, toby jugs and tobacco jars, bean pots, cracker jars, picture frames, candlesticks, book-shaped hot-water bottles, teapots, curtain knobs, toy banks in the form of grotesque heads, match safes, and a host of other forms.

Popular among the figures were a lion with forepaw resting on a ball, a girl on horseback, and a poodle carrying a basket in his mouth. There were two slightly different forms of the jolly Dutchman or coachman bottle, about eleven inches high. The figure is of a man wrapped in a cloak, clutching a small mug, and wearing a high hat which forms the neck of the bottle. Another popular piece was a small creamer in the form of a smiling cow, which was also used as a mantel ornament. A lid on her back could be opened to admit the cream, which was poured out through her mouth.

The pitchers alone offer a wide field for the collector. They were of all sizes, from small cream-

ers to large cider jugs. There were various plain, fluted, octagonal, and decorated forms, the most famous and the most valuable to-day being Greatbach's hound-handled pitcher. The branch-handled and tulip designs are also in demand.

The parian ware was more costly and was modeled with greater care. The vases and pitchers were particularly graceful in outline, more or less ornate, and light in weight. Some of the forms deserve a high rating as examples of the ceramic art. In this porcelain bisque were also made match holders, mustard cups, various dishes, cane handles, and mantel ornaments, including the figures of birds, swans, sheep, and children. The Bennington poodle, a sitting spaniel, and a cow were also made in parian, but are very rare, as are also the white toby and hound-handled pitcher. A famous piece was the large Niagara Falls pitcher, the pattern representing a cataract flowing over the sides to rocks beneath.

Table and toilet services were extensively manufactured in white and marbled bodies, sometimes with a gold band. Utility wares were also made to a limited extent in green and cobalt blue glazed ware.

Toilet sets, pitchers, and ornaments were made in white granite ware and porcelain decorated with gold

The Bennington deer, one of the most popular figures. From the collection of Elihu B. Taft, Esq., Burlington, Vt.

The Bennington cow creamer. Owned by Miss Mary H. Northend, Salem, Mass.

and colored designs, the pitchers sometimes bearing the names or initials of the owners. Among the white granite ornaments were the swan, the cow creamer, and the figure of a little girl praying.

Bennington ware was originally moderate in price and considerable quantities of it were sold. Some of the finer parian pieces cost several dollars, but the small flint-enameled ornaments were peddled from door to door at fifteen to twenty-five cents apiece. There came a period, naturally enough, when Bennington ornaments began to look old-fashioned, and hundreds of them were doubtless thrown away. That fact and the natural tendency of pottery to get broken account for the comparative scarcity and high value of the ware to-day.

A collection of Bennington ware was shown at the Pan-American Exposition in 1901, and since then it has steadily gained in popularity among collectors. It is now nearly as rare and as valuable as Lowestoft.

An idea of the high prices that have occasionally been paid for coveted pieces may be gathered from the fact that at an auction sale in Boston in March, 1914, a pair of flint-enameled Bennington poodles brought $340. Of course, that was exceptional, but the demand for Bennington ware has been extraordinary and the average dealer expects to get pretty

high prices for authentic pieces. A great deal depends on the color, and, as a rule, dishes and utility wares are of less value than the figures. I have found the following prices quoted by dealers: $50 to $100 for a good lion; $25 to $50 for the dogs, cows, and deer; $75 to $150 for the white dogs; $25 to $50 for swans; hound-handled pitcher, $35 to $50; tulip pitcher, $30; other pitchers, $25 to $35; tobies, book bottles, monk and coachman bottles, etc., $15 to $25; candlesticks, $10 or $15 a pair; cow creamer, $10; small novelties, $5 to $8. The finer parian ware and the rarer pieces in green or blue glazes bring even higher prices.

On the other hand most collectors have found it possible to pick up their specimens for much less, though the picking is by no means as easy as it was five years ago. One such collector gave $1 and $2 respectively for two tobies; $5 for a coachman bottle; $5 for a book bottle; the same for a friar or monk bottle; $8 for a wash bowl and pitcher.

The collector will do well not to be carried away by the high quotations of dealers, for the values are apt to be inflated, and while such prices are frequently obtained, they are really no fair indication of the real value of Bennington.

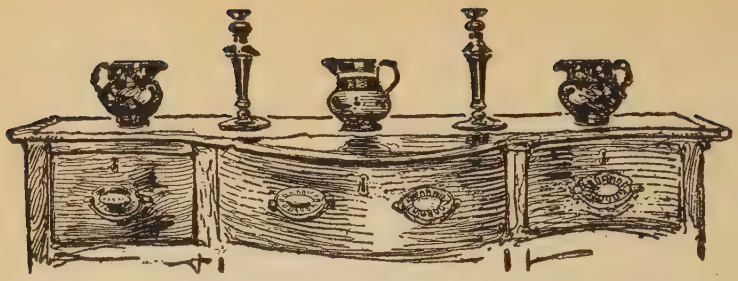
To strike a fair average, cows, deer, and dogs in

Examples of blue and white parian ware made at Bennington. From the collection of Mr. Charles S. Sherman, Glens Falls, N. Y.

White parian owned by Mr. Andrew B. Oatman, Bennington, Vt. The pitcher is the daisy pattern; the white swan is very rare.

good condition should be worth about $10; book bottles, $10; plain pitchers, dishes, etc., $5 to $7; coachman bottles, $12 to $15; hound-handled pitchers, $20; small novelties, $3 to $5; the finer parian, $25 to $50. Such pieces as the white dogs and the recumbent cow are becoming very rare and are likely to bring higher prices.

Already faking has been indulged in to some extent, the cow creamer having been reproduced and Jersey City hound-handled pitchers having been worked off as Bennington, but the collector is in little danger who takes the trouble to become familiar with the modeling, coloring, and general appearance of the true Bennington.



CHAPTER XIII

AMERICAN FURNITURE MAKERS

THUS far I have made no attempt to cover one of the most interesting and fruitful of all the industrial arts—furniture making. The chapters on Windsor chairs and Duncan Phyfe deal with but two of the many interesting subjects to be discovered in this field. Nor shall I, in the present chapter, attempt anything like detailed description or analysis, for the simple reason that an entire volume would be required to do the subject anything like justice. Nevertheless, a discussion of early American craftsmanship would be so glaringly incomplete without some attention being paid to the cabinet-makers, that I have decided upon a brief outline of the history of furniture making in America, with apologies for its necessarily superficial charac-

Seventeenth-century turned chair (Harvard chair) and oak wainscot chair.

At the left, American Queen Anne fiddle-back chair, Dutch type, with Spanish feet, about 1710–20; right, a somewhat later style, with cabriole legs and ball-and-claw feet. Bolles Collection.

ter. My purpose is not so much to impart definite information as to indicate certain directions that further investigation well may take. Generally speaking, we know more about English than American furniture, and there are fascinating quarters of this field still practically untouched.

As to the craftsmen themselves, their name is legion, and it is difficult to single out the most important or most interesting. In Colonial days every small town had its joiners and chairmakers, while in the cities the trade was a well established and generally profitable one. Judging by the examples of their work extant, many of them must have been skilled craftsmen. Unfortunately, but few of their names have been preserved, and most of those are merely names. We have no means of knowing who did some of the finest work.

Among the early colonists in New England there were a number of joiners, turners, cabinet-makers, and carvers, some of whom had undoubtedly learned their trades under the best English and Dutch masters and who were capable of reproducing the styles of the day in native woods. Many of them settled in and about Boston and worked at their trade during the last three quarters of the seventeenth century. In 1642 there were twenty joiners and over

thirty turners in Boston. In 1690 the Handicrafts Guild of that city had registered more than sixty furniture makers and over forty upholsterers. Miss Singleton gives the names of about forty members of the craft who were at work in Boston between 1635 and 1700. She gives the names also of furniture makers in Salem, Charlestown, and Newbury, Massachusetts, and eight in Maine. The earliest name on record appears to be that of Phineas Pratt, who was at work in Weymouth, Massachusetts, as early as 1622, while Kinelm Wynslow was prominent in Plymouth Colony prior to 1634.

In Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, practically all the furniture was imported during the seventeenth century. New York and Philadelphia had their local joiners but seem to have preferred the imported furniture. Most of the American-made furniture of the seventeenth century, therefore, was of New England origin.

While the Colonial joiners, like their fellow craftsmen abroad, employed oak and walnut for their finest work, they were also willing to make use of such native woods as came easily to hand—ash, elm, maple, pine, and cedar—frequently painting the softer woods. Their work was chiefly to order, or "bespoke."

In these materials they produced the current English styles of the period as well as local adaptations and variations of those styles. The chairs they made were chiefly of four types—a few carved or paneled wainscot chairs, solid turned chairs, leather and "Turkey-work" chairs of the Cromwellian type, and the earlier forms of the slat-back chair. Such cane-and-walnut chairs of the Restoration period as are to be found in this country were imported. Solid, high-backed settles, gate-leg tables, desks and Bible-boxes, chests, cupboards, etc., were all made in this country in the contemporary styles.

By 1700 we find the industry well established in various parts of the country. Boston continued to be the principal center, with Philadelphia a close second toward the end of the eighteenth century. Miss Singleton gives the names of a score of cabinet-makers, joiners, and chairmakers at work in Boston between 1707 and 1773. The Boston Directory of 1789 records the names of thirty-three engaged in various branches of the business, and that of 1796 some forty-five firms and individuals. Miss Singleton also found over fifty joiners, cabinet-makers, and chairmakers at work between 1703 and 1780 in Lynn, Ipswich, Marblehead, Salem, Newbury, Beverly, Gloucester, and neighboring towns. After the

Revolution Samuel Phippen of Salem, who died in 1798, was a well known manufacturer.

During this period the finest furniture was either imported from England or made especially to order for the homes of the well-to-do, but the Massachusetts manufacturers turned out a large quantity of stock patterns which were not only used locally but were shipped South.

Newport homes contained some fine furniture, but for the most part Connecticut and Rhode Island used furniture of local manufacture, made chiefly of cherry, cedar, whitewood, and black walnut, slat-back chairs being the commonest type until the Windsors came into vogue. Very little mahogany was used by the Connecticut makers.

In New York furniture makers became more numerous after the middle of the century. For the more fashionable trade they used black walnut, wild cherry, curled maple, sweet gum, white cedar, and mahogany. New York imported considerable cedar from Bermuda and the Barbadoes and mahogany from the West Indies.

Among the New York furniture makers Miss Singleton found the following: John Tremain, 1751; Robert Wallace, Beaver and New Streets, 1753; Solomon Hays, Beaver and Broad Streets, 1754;

At the left, Charles II or Restoration style, with Flemish feet, 1675–1700; center, the second stage, bannister-back with Spanish feet and Restoration features; right, third stage, with spindles rounded on the back. Metropolitan Museum.

At the left, bannister-back armchair with spindles rounded on the back, Metropolitan Museum; right, bannister-back armchair with flat, grooved spindles, about 1740–50, owned by the author.

Henry Hardcastle, Burling Slip, 1755; John Brinner, Broadway, 1762; Gilbert Ash, Wall Street, 1759. The New York Directory of 1786 gives the names of only half a dozen, but that of 1789 records nineteen cabinet-makers and nineteen chairmakers.

During the first half of the century Philadelphia had several upholsterers and importing houses, but few cabinet-makers. After 1750, however, several furniture makers advertised in Philadelphia papers. In 1785 Philadelphia had over fifty furniture-making concerns beside about eighteen chairmakers.

In 1796 Baltimore had twenty-six cabinet-makers and several chairmakers, and thirty-seven in 1810. Charleston in 1803 had thirty-six.

The popular styles underwent several changes during the eighteenth century. From 1700 to 1725 the American furniture makers used chiefly a combination of William and Mary and Dutch styles. From 1725 to 1750 American-made furniture was chiefly along Dutch lines, with local adaptations and variations.

Between 1750 and 1775 the furniture made here compared favorably with that brought from England. Mahogany became more common and our furniture makers gained a more secure footing. Dutch styles gradually gave place to early Georgian

and finally Chippendale. Between 1760 and 1770 a number of American cabinet-makers reproduced the designs from Chippendale's books, with little or no variation. In Philadelphia James Gillingham and in New York James Rivington and John Brinner produced mahogany furniture of high quality in the Chippendale style. Chippendale's influence persisted longer in this country than in England, and was followed by Hepplewhite and Sheraton styles late in the century.

The American chairs of the eighteenth century fall roughly into five groups: those which followed fairly closely the most popular styles in England, the roundabouts, the upholstered wing chairs, the rush-bottomed slat-back and bannister-back chairs, and the Windsors which have already been described in another chapter.

The first group includes the Queen Anne and Dutch types with high backs, vase-shaped, solid splats, and cabriole legs. They were made in solid and veneered walnut and other woods and were fashionable from 1700 to 1750 and even after that. About 1750 a pierced splat and the ball-and-claw foot began to appear, to be followed soon by the Chippendale designs. Mahogany became more common, and during the Revolutionary period we find

a number of Hepplewhite designs, followed, toward the close of the century, by Sheraton.

From 1700 to 1750 the roundabout was a popular chair in America, and is to be found in Queen Anne, Dutch, Georgian, and turned styles, with many local variations. They were particularly in vogue about 1735–40. Some were made in the cheapest woods with rush bottoms, and some in cherry, black walnut, and mahogany, with seats covered with leather or cloth. Mahogany roundabouts in Chippendale patterns became popular about the middle of the century.

More definitely American were the various types of turned and rush-bottom chairs, which, being less expensive, were more common in the average home. These were made in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, and were of walnut, oak, hickory, cherry, maple, ash, poplar, apple, pine, and various combinations of these woods, usually painted. After 1700 the later forms of the slat-backs and banister-backs appeared. These will be discussed more in detail later.

The most interesting American-made tables of the period, perhaps, were the tripod tilt-tables, tea tables, and candle stands, made first of walnut, cherry, and other woods, and later of mahogany. They also

followed the prevailing English forms, including the pie-crust top, with some variations, chiefly along the lines of simplicity and plainness. Before 1775 the tops were mostly round or scalloped; after the Revolution the octagonal form appeared. There were also plain, heavy tables of solid mahogany, and numerous variations of the Georgian styles in card tables, dining tables, etc.

Beds were largely of American make because of the difficulty of importing such large pieces. The finest ones were carved four-posters following the Georgian styles. Tent beds, with curved rods for the canopy, were also common. There were also plain four-posters and low-posters and many which were rather poor attempts to improve on the English styles.

Highboys, chests of drawers, lowboys, and dressing tables of various woods were common from 1725 to 1750. They were chiefly of local design with cabriole legs and other Dutch characteristics. From 1750 to 1775 high chests of drawers, dressing tables, and desks, with elaborately carved scroll and broken-arch pediments, were made in Philadelphia and New York. In New England the block front was originated and was used on low chests of drawers, bu-

Early slat-back armchair and later four-back chair. Metropolitan Museum.

At the left, early roundabout with solid splats and Dutch feet, owned by the author; right, later roundabout, Chippendale style, in the Bolles Collection.

reaus, dressing tables, chests-on-chests of drawers, desks, and secretaries.

Most of the desks and secretaries used here prior to the Revolution were probably imported, though a few old walnut ones are to be found which were undoubtedly made here, as well as later ones of mahogany. After the Revolution they were made in increasing numbers, particularly bookcase desks and secretaries. They range from the very simple to the very elaborate—some severely square and plain, and some with serpentine and block fronts and carved pediments. Mahogany veneer was the common material used. A few fine examples of low-top desks are to be found, with tambour fronts and delicate inlay, indicating Shearer or Sheraton influence, and dating about 1790.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century found a large number of skilled cabinet-makers at work. Of these Duncan Phyfe was the chief, but there were many others in various cities who produced fine furniture, particularly while the Sheraton influence prevailed. They seem to have caught the spirit of his delicate art to a remarkable degree. Until 1810 this influence was strong, but it gradually gave way to the Empire craze which modified all our designing

and resulted in the so-called American Empire style. By 1825 this had become heavy and ornate and but little superior to the machine-made furniture that followed.

The most interesting chairs of the early nineteenth century were the definitely Sheraton types, the Phyfe productions, the late Windsors, and the "fancy" chairs. These last were made in New York in considerable quantities between 1800 and 1830 and were highly favored for both dining-room and chamber. They were light chairs of soft wood, with rush or cane seats, straight, turned legs, stiles bending slightly back, with or without arms, and with two or more horizontal slats across the back, sometimes ornamented with spindles or balls. They were usually painted black and decorated with gilt, and a yellow or gilt design of fruit or flowers was painted on the broad slat at the top of the back. Sofas were made in the same style.

The "fancy" chair was introduced in New York as early as 1797 by one William Challen who came from London. In 1802 William Palmer, 2 Nassau Street, advertised black and gold "fancy" chairs with cane and rush bottoms. In 1806 William Mott, 51 Broadway, advertised similar chairs, also green, white, and gilt ones. In 1812 Asa Holden, 32

Broad Street, advertised ball and spindle back "fancy" chairs, and in 1817 Wharton & Davies introduced a line of "fancy" chairs both painted and of curled maple—side chairs, armchairs, rocking-chairs, settees, and sofas. Unpainted curled maple chairs in this style are still to be found in the vicinity of New York.

Of a later period, but still of interest to collectors, are the mahogany veneered chairs of the American Empire type which were made from 1830 to 1840. They had heavy, curved backs and vase-shaped splats and were originally copied after the chair in the library of Napoleon I at Malmaison which was given by Louis Philippe to the Marquis de Marigny at New Orleans.

Early nineteenth century tables included some delicate Sheraton types, but these all too soon gave place to heavy affairs with round, octagonal, or lyre-shaped pedestals and four scroll feet. Their saving grace was the occasional beauty of the veneer.

The American sideboards and bureaus of the period are sought to some extent, though the later forms show the same Empire heaviness. The sideboards often have three drawers, with three cupboards below, the middle one being wider and fitted with two doors. Some fine sideboards were made in

the South, with serving boards and cellarettes. After 1820 a sideboard was introduced with four legs, turned feet, and turned pillars at the corners, and with one cupboard and with sometimes a butler's desk in place of the middle drawer. Desks and secretaries followed the same style tendencies as the other furniture.

The French or sleigh bed which was made from 1820 to 1840 is not without interest. It had low, rolling head and foot boards and broad legs, and was usually of mahogany veneer.

In addition to these more familiar types, there are one or two others that are worthy of mention. During the Washingtonian enthusiasm of 1789–90, the American eagle became a popular design motif for various purposes. Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey of New York has collected several pieces of what he calls Washington eagle furniture, made in New York, Baltimore, and Albany. One is a four-poster bedstead, carved with eagles, and the others are pieces of the Sheraton type with the eagles appearing in the form of finely inlaid medallions. This may suggest an interesting if somewhat limited field for other enterprising collectors.

Contemporary with the slip-decorated pottery of western Pennsylvania was a type of painted furni-

American-made chairs of the Chippendale type, 1760–70.

At the left, American chair of the Sheraton type, about 1800; right, "fancy" chair, early nineteenth century. Metropolitan Museum.

ture made by these same Germans. I do not know that any persistent search has been made for it, and the only pieces I have seen have been strong dower chests, painted in what were once bright colors and bearing the bride's name or initials and often a date. My neighbor, Mr. Renwick C. Hurry, has one painted in panels, with the popular tulip on the central one, and the name Anna Maria Muthhart, 1786, above. The common design motifs were conventionalized flowers—particularly the tulip—fruits, birds, etc., and were painted in greens, reds, blues, and yellows.

The collector, it will be seen, has a wide field to choose from in the work of American furniture makers. The Dutch and Georgian types of the eighteenth century, the later Sheraton and Phyfe furniture, the Windsor chairs, and the slat-backs and banister-backs are all worthy of attention. The last-named group I have reserved for further consideration because I believe it offers an opportunity for American collectors that has not been fully improved, though I have not thought it advisable to devote a separate chapter to this subject.

The earliest chairs made in New England had rush seats and turned legs, arms, stretchers, and stiles. The stiles, legs, and arm-posts were large and

straight and the entire chair solid and not without a certain grace of proportion. The uprights were usually of ash, arms and underbraces of hickory, and the lighter turned work of ash, hickory, or birch. These turned chairs were made from 1625 to 1700 with some variations in design. Some had vertical rods in the back. One type has been called the Carver chair because similar to Governor Carver's chair in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

These turned chairs were the predecessors of the slat-backs and bannister-backs, which were also the artistic descendents of the old English turned chairs and the high-backed walnut-and-cane chairs of Charles II's time.

The slat-back type, which had its counterpart in England, is older than the bannister-back. The first ones, in fact, appeared as early as 1650 and were contemporary with the Carver chairs.

The slat-backs had turned stiles, legs, and underbraces, and high, straight backs with from two to six slightly curved horizontal slats. They were made of native hard woods, such as maple, hickory, ash, beech, etc., with two or three kinds often used in a single chair. They were well built and were strong and useful.

They were made with both rush and mat seats, the

last being made of the inner bark of the basswood or linden tree and sometimes of the elm. They were called flag-bottomed, mat-bottomed, reed-bottomed, and bulrush chairs, and also, in some old inventories, "basse-bottom" chairs.

In New England slat-backs were usually called "three-back chairs," "four-back chairs," etc., according to the number of slats. They were made with and without arms, the armchairs being called "great chairs." The first rocking-chairs made in America were slat-backs and appeared between 1725 and 1750.

Mr. Lockwood has traced an interesting style development in the slat-backs. The first ones had three slats which were straight across top and bottom, but cut down in quarter circles at the ends. Gradually the slats grew lighter, and between 1675 and 1700 were usually curved on the top side and straight or nearly straight across the bottom. After 1700 these chairs became very common in New England, with three to five slats, usually curved on the upper edge, or straight across both edges.

Pennsylvania slat-backs show some variations in style. There the turning was generally plain and straight, while in New England vase and bulb forms were commonest. The front legs usually ended in a

ball and the rear legs in a taper foot. Five and six slats were common, with the lower edges curved up sharply, following the curves of the upper edges.

A very common type of modern piazza chair is based directly on the old slat-back form.

The first bannister-backs appeared in both England and America about 1700 and were called also split-back chairs. They were very evidently a development of the high-backed walnut chairs of the Restoration, for they showed the Spanish feet, carved top of back, and occasionally the carved underbrace, and the general proportions were the same. But they had rush seats instead of cane or upholstery, and in place of the cane or upholstered panel in the back there were three to five—usually four—upright spindles or balusters between turned stiles. These balusters were turned and split, the flat side being occasionally toward the back but more often toward the front.

In this country the bannister-backs were made of two or three kinds of wood in a single chair and were usually painted. They were made with and without arms.

These were the true bannister-backs, but the name has also been applied to the later forms. After 1725 they were much simplified in America, the carved

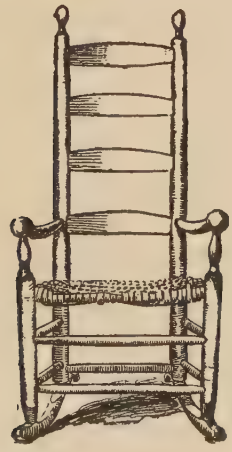
The oak gate-leg table, of Jacobean origin, was popular in England and the Colonies during the last half of the seventeenth century. This one, a fine example of American workmanship, is in the Bolles Collection.

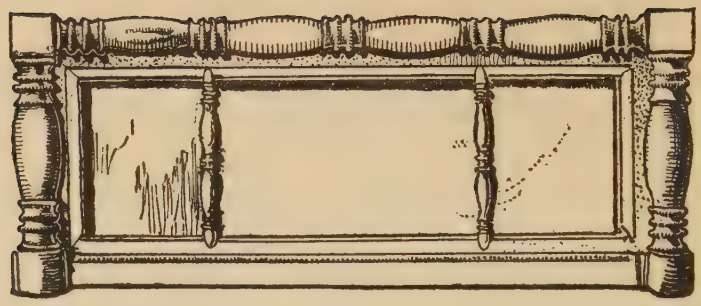
An unusual form of tripod table with inlaid top; 1780–1800. Bolles Collection.

A not ungraceful table of the Dutch type, American manufacture; 1750–75. Bolles Collection.

American mahogany table with reeded legs, Sheraton style; about 1800. Owned by Mrs. W. A. Dyer.

tops and Spanish feet disappearing and giving place to plain curved or horizontal pieces at the top of the back, and straight, turned legs and underbraces. After 1735 or thereabouts the turned and split balusters became less common and in their place appeared plain or grooved uprights, flat on both sides. This form was common up to 1750 and persisted to some extent till about 1775, being gradually superseded by the more comfortable Windsors.





CHAPTER XIV

OTHER CRAFTS AND CRAFTSMEN

BEFORE closing this volume it may not be uninteresting to take a passing glance at some of the minor crafts and craftsmen that form a part of the early history of industrial arts in America.

EARLY CLOCKMAKERS

Two chapters have already been devoted to clockmaking, but the Willards and the Connecticut group were not the only clockmakers worthy of consideration, though they were the most important.

Clockmakers came here from England and Holland early in the seventeenth century, but little is known of them or of their work. The names of most of the clockmakers of the first half of the

eighteenth century are also missing. Clockmakers did not commonly sign their work until later; the practice of pasting a paper of directions inside the case did not become general until about 1800. Many an interesting old clock is owned to-day about which practically nothing is known as to history or maker.

One of the earliest names on record is that of William Davis, who was making clocks in Boston in 1683. James Batterson was at work and advertised there between 1707 and 1730 and Thomas Bodeley in 1720. The clocks of these early makers are very rare, and offer but little opportunity for the collector.

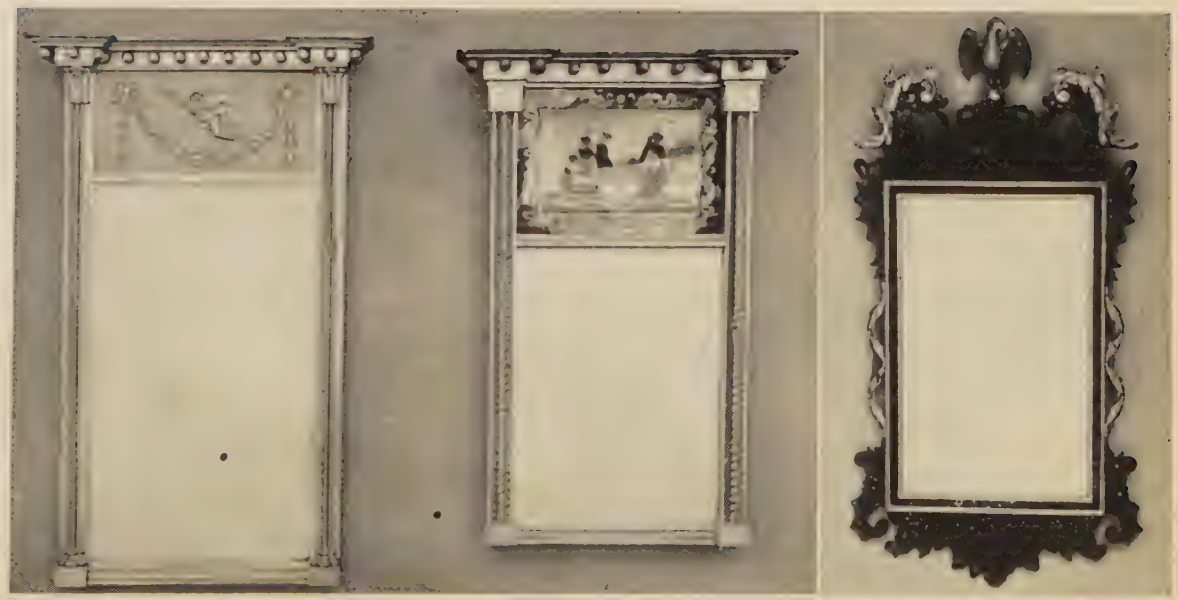
The most prominent name found among the Boston clockmakers of the first half of the eighteenth century is Bagnall. Benjamin Bagnall made tall, eight-day clocks in Charlestown, in pine and walnut cases, as early as 1712. He was succeeded in 1740 by his sons Samuel and Benjamin, Jr., who did business in Boston. The latter had a shop on Cornhill, near the Town House, in 1770.

During the last quarter of the century there were many successful clockmakers in Boston, including Joseph and Robert Pope, D. F. Lanny, Richard Cranch, and others.

Early clockmaking was also carried on in Plymouth and in other towns of eastern Massachusetts. Newbury was something of a center for the industry. Here Balch and Mulliken were prominent names. Samuel Mulliken was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, in 1720 and moved to Newbury in 1750, where he made clocks for about six years. He was succeeded by his son Jonathan and by his grandson Samuel, who made clocks in Newburyport until about 1790. There was also a Joseph Mulliken who died in Newburyport in 1804, a Nathaniel Mulliken who lived in Lexington from 1751 to 1789, and another Samuel Mulliken who advertised clocks in Salem in 1789.

Daniel Balch was born in Bradford in 1734 and moved to Newbury in 1757, where he made clocks for thirty years. He was succeeded by his sons Daniel and Thomas. Thomas kept up the business till 1818, making excellent clocks, and was then succeeded by his son Charles. There were also Benjamin and James Balch in Salem in 1787. Another well known Newburyport clockmaker was David Wood (1766–1824).

At a somewhat later date the name of Munroe became famous in Concord, Massachusetts. Here Daniel and Nathaniel Munroe, brothers, made clocks



Types of early nineteenth-century American looking-glasses. Bolles Collection. The first two have gilt frames of Empire type, and the third is of flat mahogany.

from about 1800. In 1808 Daniel moved to Boston and Nathaniel continued the business with Samuel Whiting until 1817, when he moved to Baltimore. They did a large business in eight-day clocks with brass works. Nathaniel also had a brass foundry where he made bells, clock works, etc.

I have already made reference to Lemuel Curtis, and to Elnathan Taber and Simon Willard's other apprentices. (See Chapter VI.)

In Rhode Island the Claggetts were famous clockmakers in the first half of the eighteenth century, and a few examples of their work are still to be seen. Between 1726 and 1740 H. Claggett was making tall clocks of superior quality in Newport. Thomas and William Claggett, presumably his sons, were engaged in the business between 1730 and 1750.

In 1788 Seril Dodge, who was a gold- and silversmith as well as a clockmaker, was at work in Providence. From 1794 to 1824 Nehemiah Dodge was engaged in these two trades, being succeeded by Ezra W. Dodge, probably his son. Other Providence clockmakers were Caleb and Calvin Wheaton, about 1784 to 1790.

The Connecticut clockmakers, beginning with Thomas Harland in 1773, have already been considered. (See Chapter V.)

In Philadelphia one of the earliest known clockmakers was Christopher Sower. He was born in Germany in 1693, came to Philadelphia in 1724, and engaged in the clock-making trade in Germantown in 1731, when we find his name spelled Souers. He made tall eight-day clocks of good quality. Besides being a clockmaker, he was a physician, chemist, farmer, paper maker, book printer, and author. He also invented a cast-iron stove.

Another early member of the craft in Philadelphia was Odran Dupuy, who was making clocks in 1735. John Dupuy, who was in the business in 1770, was probably his son. Augustine Neiser was a Moravian who settled in Germantown in 1739 and made clocks until 1780. Most of these were signed with his name, but without date. Edward Duffield, a friend of Benjamin Franklin, was born in Philadelphia in 1720 and made clocks and watches there between 1741 and 1747. William Godfrey was another Philadelphia clockmaker between 1750 and 1763.

The genius among the Philadelphia clockmakers was David Rittenhouse, who was born in Germantown in 1732, established his trade in Norriton in 1751, and moved to Philadelphia in 1770, where he made clocks until about 1777. He was a famous astronomer and constructed a remarkable astronom-

ical clock which is now in Memorial Hall, Philadelphia. He was treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1777 to 1789, Professor of Astronomy at the University of Pennsylvania from 1779 to 1782, and Director of the United States Mint from 1792 to 1795.

After the Revolution clockmakers were more numerous in Philadelphia. The directory of 1785 gives the names of nineteen and that of 1795 twenty-five.

In New York imported clocks were largely advertised during the first half of the eighteenth century, but there were also a number of local clockmakers. Among the earliest on record was Everardus Bogardus, who was at work as early as 1698. John Bell advertised eight-day clocks in Japan cases in 1734. Long-case clocks with brass works were advertised by George Nicholls between 1728 and 1750 and by Lawrence Payne between 1732 and 1755. Thomas Perry was making clocks in Dock Street and Moses Clements in Broadway in 1749. Other pre-Revolutionary clockmakers in New York were George Chester and Carden Proctor, who were at work in 1757, John Ent and Patrick Carryl in 1758, and Joseph Clark in 1768. After the Revolution there were many more.

In other cities the industry also thrived. Robert

Shearman made clocks in Wilmington, Delaware, between 1760 and 1770. In Baltimore, where the trade flourished after the Revolution, Alexander Vuille was at work in 1766. The most complete list of early American clockmakers appears in Mrs. Moore's "Old Clock Book."

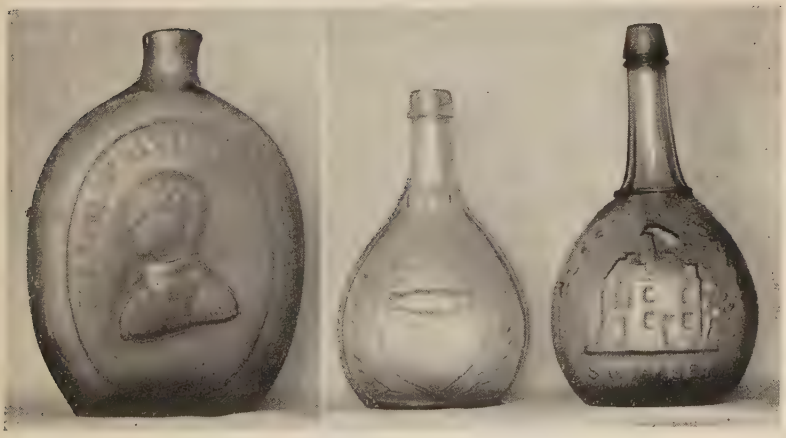
LOOKING-GLASSES AND FRAMES

While most of the so-called Colonial looking-glasses in America were imported, the making of mirror frames became a fairly profitable industry after the Revolution. The Queen Anne and Georgian types nearly all came from England.

During the last half of the eighteenth century a looking-glass became popular in America which was a revival of the Queen Anne style. It had a flat frame of solid or veneered mahogany, deeply curved at the bottom and with the broken arch or some similar form at the top. The frame was embellished with gilt ornaments, the eagle becoming popular about 1775. There was often a molding around the inside of the frame, and the glass, unlike its Queen Anne prototype, was squared.

By 1775 looking-glasses were manufactured in considerable quantities in New England, though still, apparently, imported in New York. Between

American glass cup plates, 1830 to 1850.



Gen. Taylor flask, Dyottville works; Masonic flask by A. R. Samuels, and bottle by S. Huffsey; about 1850. Metropolitan Museum Collection.

1780 and 1790 the so-called Constitution mirror was in vogue. It was similar in style to the one just described, with gilt plaster ornaments mounted on wires at the sides and with a gilt eagle of carved wood or plaster in the broken arch at the top. The gilt plaster eagle in bas relief occasionally found on the flat wood above the glass belongs to a later period—about 1810.

Toward the close of the century gilt-framed glasses of various types were made here. One of the finest of these was the circular bull's-eye mirror, with convex glass and with an ornate gilt frame of carved wood or molded plaster or a combination of the two. It was ornamented with heavy beading or rows of balls and frequently had a spread eagle at the top. These bull's-eyes varied from twelve to thirty-six inches in diameter, the smaller ones being frequently used in pairs. Some, called girandole mirrors, were furnished with two or more candle holders. They were made between 1780 and 1800.

Over-mantel glasses of various sorts were common after 1780. They were made chiefly with three sections of glass, separated by molding, the two end sections being narrower than the middle one. After 1800 heavier pilasters divided the sections. Similar looking-glasses were made in upright form with two

sections of glass, the smaller section at the top often being ornamented with a pattern cut out of wood and laid over it. After 1800 this upper section was more commonly painted with a crude landscape or emblematic design.

After 1805 Empire styles began to come into vogue. Between 1810 and 1830 the commonest form of looking-glass had a heavy gilt frame, often with an overhanging cornice at the top ornamented with pendant balls or acorns, the rest of the frame being rounded, spiral, or fluted. After 1825 heavy balluster forms appeared on all four sides.

Little has been recorded of the men who made these looking-glasses. James Foddy advertised in New York in 1730 "to alter and amend old looking-glasses." George Robinson, a Boston carver, who died in 1737, is known to have made frames, and William Farris was a carver and gilder of looking-glass frames in Baltimore in 1796. Few of their names are known, however, and it is probable that most of them were among those listed as carvers in the old directories.

GLASS-MAKERS

Baron Stiegel, though the most interesting of the early American manufacturers of glassware, was not

the first. Window glass and bottles were manufactured in Jamestown, Virginia, as early as 1609, and another factory started there in 1621 made glass beads for barter with the Indians. Salem had a glass-house in 1639, where coarse bottles were made. Glassware was also made in Philadelphia by Joshua Tittery in 1683 and perhaps in other places, though these seventeenth century ventures were not generally successful.

In 1739 glass works were established at Allowaystown, later Wistarburg, Salem County, New Jersey, by Caspar Wistar, and were continued by his son Richard until 1781. Here window glass and bottles of good quality were made, as well as a few beautiful specimens of higher grade glassware showing Dutch characteristics.

There were two factories in New York as early as 1731, one in Connecticut in 1741, and one in Brooklyn in 1754. Crude bottles were made at Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1760. Bottles and flasks were made in Kensington, Pennsylvania, about 1771, and in 1775 Stanger Bros. started a factory at Glassboro, New Jersey. Robert Hewes of Boston started a glass-house at Temple, New Hampshire, in 1779, but it was not a success.

After the Revolution other glass factories were

started in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, New York, Albany, New Jersey, and New England. In 1783 William and Elisha Pitkin and Samuel Bishop were given the sole privilege of making glass in Connecticut. The Pitkin factory was located at East Hartford.

The first American glass was greenish, coarse, and full of bubbles and sand. After the Revolution the quality of the material was improved as well as the designs. Salt cellars, bowls, pitchers, bottles, and all sorts of drinking glasses were made in pressed and cut glass, up to about 1810. These were followed by blown glass up to about 1827, when the modern industry was established.

American drinking glasses form an interesting field for the collector, and there are various sorts of ornamental and table ware and lamps. In some respects, however, the bottles form the most alluring field.

The need for bottles and flasks was felt as early as the seventeenth century, but the first ones made here were coarse and crude and in the simplest forms. Later, blue and brown glass appeared in place of the light and dark green, and more attention was paid to the matter of shape.

After the Revolution bottles began to be made with some form of decoration. As early as 1790

Eighteenth-century iron vessels from the Bolles Collection.

Old Pennsylvania stove plates, owned by Mr. David B. Missemer.

bottles bearing the heads and busts of noted men were made in Baltimore. After 1800 curious shapes began to appear—men, animals, fishes, shells, books, violins, and pistols. About 1810 bottles were made in the form of crude busts of Washington and Lafayette.

The vogue for fancy bottles and pocket flasks, bearing blown decorations of political or historical significance, lasted from 1808, when they began to appear in Philadelphia, till about 1870. They were made in various colors, which do not serve as an indication of their date of manufacture. The designs were cut in metal molds. Of the eighty or more patterns that have been found, twenty-nine show the American eagle, nineteen are of Washington, and nineteen of General Zachary Taylor.

The popularity of these bottles was in full swing by 1825, when several factories made flasks and bottles to commemorate the opening of the Erie Canal. These included busts of Lafayette and Governor Clinton.

The presidential campaign of 1840 was made the occasion for the manufacture of a large number of bottles in the form of campaign emblems, such as the log cabin, the beehive, and the cider barrel. The idea caught the popular fancy and souvenir bottles

were much in demand during the next fifteen years. The Mexican War furnished another subject and in 1848 General Taylor and Captain Bragg bottles were popular. In 1850 flasks with globular bodies and long necks were dedicated to Jenny Lind and Louis Kossuth and bore their names and likenesses. Other popular subjects were Henry Clay, Robert Fulton, and Thomas Jefferson.

Not a great deal is known of the makers of these bottles. Campaign bottles of 1840 and Mexican War bottles were made at the Kensington works, which were started by Robert Towars and James Leacock in 1771, and were taken over by Thomas Leiper in 1783 and by James Rowland & Co. in 1813. The factory at Glassboro, New Jersey, which was started by Stanger Bros. in 1775, passed into the hands of Whitney Bros. in 1840. They made whiskey bottles and also ink-stands in the log cabin, cider barrel, and beehive forms, and, in 1750, Jenny Lind bottles. Samuel Huffsey of Philadelphia also made Kossuth and Lind bottles, often using the mark S. Huffsey.

These bottles make an interesting if not an especially beautiful or antique collection. The largest number were made between 1848 and 1852, and practically none now in existence were made before

One form of the old Franklin stove. Owned by the author.

American iron vessels, eighteenth century. Metropolitan Museum.

1825. They are worth from $1 to $10 apiece, according to age and rarity of design.

The same is true of the cup-plates—the little glass dishes that grandfather used to set his cup on while cooling his tea in his saucer. These were also especially popular between 1840 and 1850, and bore the campaign emblems, state coat-of-arms, and such historical scenes as the Battle of Bunker Hill. These cup plates are worth from 25 cents to $5 apiece, $1 being a fair average value.

The opal glass which was in vogue about 1820 is also interesting. It is found in lamps, candlesticks, door knobs, curtain and drawer knobs, and various small articles.

IRON FURNACES

The history of iron casting in America I shall not attempt to treat as fully as so important an industry deserves, for the reason that it cannot have so great an interest for collectors as some of the others.

In 1630 Thomas Hudson settled at Lynn, Massachusetts, on land near the ford of the Saugus River. His discovery of bog-iron ore in his marsh led to the establishment of the first iron foundry by Joseph Jenks. Charcoal was the fuel used, and the first casting done in America was an iron pot made in

1642. In 1652 Jenks cast the dies for the famous pine-tree shillings. In 1646 there was also a foundry at Braintree, Massachusetts, where pots, mortars, stoves, and skillets were made.

During the eighteenth century Pennsylvania became the center of the iron industry and furnaces were also established in Maryland, New Jersey, and elsewhere. Among the products manufactured in Pennsylvania were the five-plate and six-plate stoves which were built into the jambs of fireplaces. They had no connection with the flue and were open on the side toward the fire. Hot coals were shoveled into them, and the heated iron, extending into the room, radiated a fair degree of warmth.

The side and end plates of these stoves were cast in raised designs, and it is these quaintly decorative stove-plates that are of chief interest to the collector. The Metropolitan and Pennsylvania Museums own a number of them, and Mr. Henry C. Mercer of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, has made a particular study of them, as well as of Moravian tiles and Pennsylvania-German pottery. Another collector of stove-plates is Mr. Benjamin F. Owen of Reading, Pennsylvania.

These plates are from one and one-half to two and one-half feet square, and often half an inch thick or

An American hand-woven coverlet of the late eighteenth century. From the Metropolitan Museum Collection.

more. The tulip was a common design motif, and many of the plates bore inscriptions in German. The most interesting subjects illustrate scriptural incidents, such as the stories of Cain and Abel, Adam and Eve, David and Goliath, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, the Miracle of Cana, the flight into Egypt, and Elijah and the ravens.

Among the known makers of these stove plates were Thomas Rutter, the Durham Furnace in Bucks County, Daniel Udree at Oley in Berks County, John Potts at the Warwick Furnace in Chester County, and Baron Stiegel at Elizabeth Furnace in Lancaster County. They date from 1735 to 1790, but the best examples were made between 1740 and 1760. With the introduction of the ten-plate stove the decorations became less interesting. Daniel Udree is said to have burned 840 bushels of charcoal in his furnace every twenty-four hours, and it took twenty-two cords of wood to make that much charcoal.

Naturally, wood began to be less plentiful and more expensive in the region of Philadelphia, and this led to the invention of the Philadelphia fireplace to economize fuel. This was improved by Benjamin Franklin, and Franklin stoves began to be made about 1745. Franklin had made a study of fire-

places, chimneys, and draughts, among his many other scientific investigations, and his own account of his invention is interesting. In his autobiography he writes as follows:

"Having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. . . . The use of these fireplaces in very many houses, both here in Pennsylvania and the neighboring states, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants."

The Franklin stoves were built of cast iron, to be fitted into the fireplace, or to extend out into the room, with a flue connection. Some were very simple in arrangement, while others had more or less elaborate systems of draughts. The old fireplaces were not always smokeless, and the new stove was an improvement in that respect.

Sea coal was advertised in Philadelphia as early as 1744, and Franklin stoves were soon made with grates as well as with flat hearths for andirons.

The designs were often good, the jambs curving

gracefully and the proportions pleasing. They were decorated with embossed patterns in the iron and with brass or nickel knobs and sometimes rosettes and rails. They were made with and without feet.

It is not impossible to find old Franklin stoves occasionally to-day, though care should be taken not to be deceived by the modern reproductions which soon get to looking old with use. The ordinary types are worth $15 or $20.

Among the other interesting products of the old furnaces were decorative firebacks for fireplaces, andirons, door knockers, and building hardware. Old architectural wrought iron, such as is to be found in Charleston and elsewhere, is a subject for study by itself.

THE TEXTILE ARTS

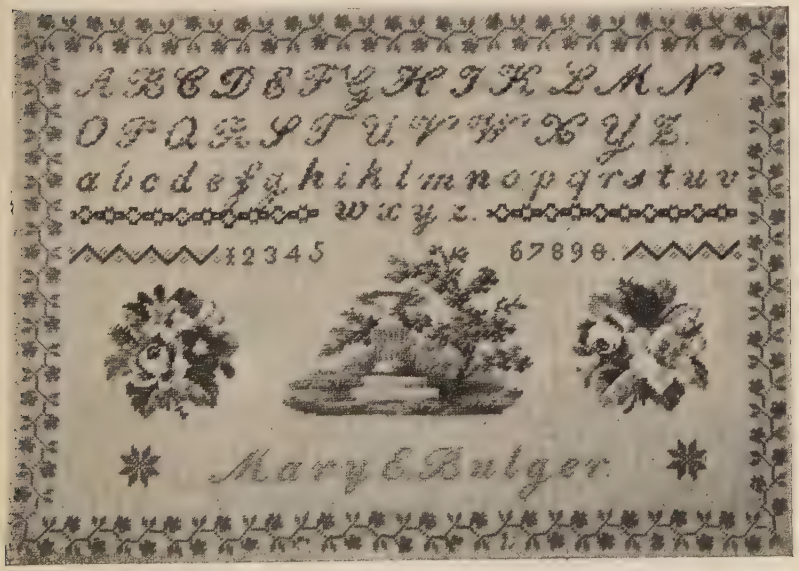
We have been dealing, of course, with the work of professional craftsmen, while some of the interesting art objects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the work of amateurs. The textile arts especially—needlework and weaving—should be classed as home crafts.

Lace, tapestries, silks, the finer floor coverings, and other textiles were largely imported until well into

the nineteenth century, but the homespun work was not always lacking in artistic interest. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century there were professional weavers, who, like the itinerant cobblers, went from farmhouse to farmhouse, carrying their looms with them and doing the year's stint of work. It was doubtless from these weavers that the Colonial housewives learned to improve the character of their own weaving, for this remained for generations part of women's work.

For the collector there is perhaps nothing more interesting in this field than the hand-woven coverlets which were made in every section of the country from New Hampshire to Georgia. The art, indeed, still survives in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. These coverlets were quaintly beautiful, and as they were often carefully preserved, not a few of them are still in existence. Some patterns were imported from European countries by the early immigrants, and many were common to all parts of the Colonies. They were often named. Miss Hall, in her book on coverlets, has gathered a large number of these names and designs. The colors were chiefly red and white or blue and white, but green, pink, yellow, and saffron were also used. The vegetable

A fashionable type of needlework. "Washington Memorial" embroidery, about 1800. Bolles Collection.



American sampler, one of the less elaborate forms. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

dyes were all home-made—an art that has been all but forgotten in this country.

Needlework was always considered one of the accomplishments of the gentlewoman. She made "Turkey work," hooked and braided rugs, samplers, embroidered curtains and fire screens, etc. Embroidery, indeed, became one of the most widely practised of the fine arts.

The teaching of needlework was a thriving industry in itself. In New York we find Martha Gazley advertising in 1731 to teach needlework, and similar advertisements were common after 1750. In 1769 Clementina and Jane Ferguson conducted a famous young ladies' finishing school in which needlework was one of the principal subjects taught. In Boston Mrs. Hiller had a similar school in Hanover Square and they were quite common during the '60's.

There is, I think, nothing in the line of needlework so interesting to the collector as samplers. They are not uncommon, though they vary widely in excellence and in human interest. The oldest ones were the work of skilled needlewomen; samplers which were the tasks of little girls belong generally to some date after 1725.

The history of weaving, printing, and the other

industrial arts in America are all deserving of attention, but we have covered, I think, the subjects that are of the greatest present interest to collectors. This history, indeed, dull enough at first glance, soon becomes a part of the collector's treasured lore, and the collector of Americana is bound to become something of a historian.

It is my hope that I may have succeeded through this volume in turning the attention of some few Americans to the collecting of Americana, and I shall be still further gratified if the recently awakened popular interest in this field may cause the directors of more of our public museums to follow the lead of those in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia and take steps toward the acquisition of comprehensive collections of the work of our early American craftsmen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Following is a list of the books and pamphlets which the collector of Americana will find of the greatest value in a study of the subjects discussed in the foregoing pages:

The Colonial Furniture of New England, by Irving Whitall Lyon.

Colonial Furniture in America, by Luke Vincent Lockwood.

The Furniture of Our Forefathers, by Esther Singleton.

The Lure of the Antique, by Walter A. Dyer.

Old Plate, by John Henry Buck.

The Old Silver of American Churches, by E. Alfred Jones.

American Silver, by R. T. Haines Halsey.

Early Silver of Connecticut and Its Marks, by George Munson Curtis.

The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States, by Edwin Atlee Barber.

China Collecting in America, by Alice Morse Earle.

Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania Potters, by Edwin Atlee Barber.

Pewter and the Amateur Collector, by Edwards J. Gale.

Old Pewter, Brass, Copper, and Sheffield Plate, by N. Hudson Moore.

American Glassware, by Edwin Atlee Barber.

Stiegel Glass, by Frederick William Hunter.

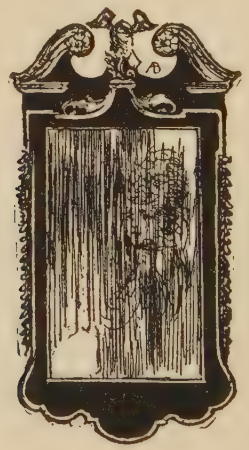
The Old Clock Book, by N. Hudson Moore.

Simon Willard and His Clocks, by John Ware Willard.

By-Paths in Collecting, by Virginia Robie.
A Book of Hand-Woven Coverlets, by Eliza Calvert Hall.
The Bells of Paul and Joseph W. Revere, by Arthur H. Nichols.
The Life of Colonel Paul Revere, by E. H. Goss.
The True Story of Paul Revere, by Charles Ferris Gettemy.

PAMPHLETS

The Metropolitan Museum Catalogue of New York and New Jersey Silver.
History of the American Clock Business, by Chauncey Jerome.
American Clock Making, by Henry Terry.
History of Plymouth, by Francis Atwater.
Baron Henry William Stiegel, by J. H. Sieling, M.D.
Henry William Stiegel, by A. S. Brendle, Esq.
The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



INDEX

INDEX

American China Manufactory, 290
Architecture, early American, 16 et seq.

Banjo Clocks, 139, 148, 158
Bannister-back chairs, 331, 334
Beds, American, 332, 338
Bells, Revere, 204, 206 et seq.
Bennington pottery, 284, 297, 298 et seq.
Bentley, William, diary of, 25
Boardman, Thomas D., 261
Bookcase desks, 335
Book-plates by Nathaniel Hurd, 238
Book-plates by Paul Revere, 213
Bottles, American glass, 361, 362 et seq.
Brasiers, American, 268 et seq.
Brass mountings, 63
Bureaus, 337
Burnap, Daniel, 108
Burt, John, 238

Cabinet-makers, American, 43 et seq., 320 et seq.
Cartlidge, Charles, 294
Carving, McIntire, 39
Carving, Phyfe, 62
Chairmakers, 43 et seq., 75 et seq., 320 et seq.
Chairs:
  American Empire, 337
  American Windsor, 79 et seq.
  bannister-back, 331, 334
  Chippendale style, 330
  English Windsor, 96
  "fancy," 336
  Phyfe, 58 et seq.
  Queen Anne style, 330
  Restoration style, 325
  roundabout, 331
  slat-back, 326, 331, 342
  turned, 325, 331, 341
  wainscot, 325
Chests of drawers, 332
Church clocks, 117, 142
Clockmakers, 104 et seq., 128, 133 et seq., 157, 348 et seq.
Coffee pots, silver, 231
Collections:
  Blaney, 67
  Bolles, 11
  Clearwater, 12
  Concord Antiquarian Society, 13
  Essex Institute, Salem, 13
  Halsey, 13, 43, 67, 338
  Hostetter, 187
  Hunter, 13, 187
  Jumel Mansion, New York, 13
  Kerfoot, 87
  Memorial Hall, Deerfield, 13
  Mercer, 370
  Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11, 12, 67, 370

Collections (Continued)):
Mt. Vernon, 13
Owen, 373
Pendleton, 11, 13
Pennsylvania Museum, 8, 278, 370
Philipse Manor, Yonkers, 13
Pitkin, 8
Rhode Island School of Design, 12
Ropes House, Salem, 13
Van Cortlandt House, New York, 13
Wadsworth Athenæum, Hartford, 8
Communion services, 231, 256
Cony, John, 234
Cook-Oliver house, Salem, 35
Coppersmiths, American, 268 et seq.
Coverlets, hand-woven, 376
Cup-plates, 369
Curtis, Lemuel, 158

Danforth, Samuel, 261
Desks, 332, 335
Dressing-tables, 332
Drinking-glasses, 183, 362
Drinking vessels, silver, 228
Dummer, Jeremiah, 234

Earthenware, 274, 280, 299
Edwards, John, 237
Engravings by Nathaniel Hurd, 238
Engravings by Paul Revere, 210
Erie Canal celebration, 52
Exhibitions:
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 6, 12, 214, 220
Hudson-Fulton Celebration, 6, 44, 220
Pan-American Exposition, 315

"Fancy" chairs, 336
"Feast of Roses," 177
Fenton, Christopher Weber, 299 et seq., 306
Figures, Bennington, [illegible], 311
Flint-enameled ware, 311
Frames, mirror, 356
Franklin stove, 374
Furniture makers, 43 et seq., 320 et seq.

Glassware, American, 8, 162 et seq., 180 et seq., 361
Greatbach, Daniel, 303 et seq.

Harland, Thomas, 107
Highboys, 332
Hoadley, Silas, 122
Houses in Salem, 32 et seq.
Hull, John, 233
Hurd, Benjamin, Jacob, and Nathaniel, 238

Iron furnaces, 369 et seq.

Jerome, Chauncey, 123 et seq.
Jersey City Pottery, 289

Looking-glasses, 356
Lowboys, 332

Mahogany, use of, 57, 62, 326, 329, 330
McIntire, Samuel, 16 et seq.
Mirrors, 356

Needlework, 379
Nichols house, Salem, 35
Norton family, 290 et seq.

Oak Hill, Peabody, 36

Painted furniture, Pennsylvania German, 338

INDEX

Parian ware, 300, 303, 310, 312
Patent for clocks, 110, 140
Pewter, manufacture of, 252
Pewter utensils, 256
Pewterers, American, 259 et seq.
Phippen, Samuel, 70
Phyfe, Duncan, 45 et seq.
Pillar-and-scroll-top clock, 114
Pine-tree shillings, 234, 370
Pitchers, Bennington, 311
Porcelain, American, 8, 286, 290, 303
Porringers, silver, 227
Potters, American, 273 et seq., 298 et seq.
Pottery, American, 8, 273 et seq., 298 et seq.
Presentation clock, 151

Revere, Paul, 191 et seq.
Rocking-chairs, 91, 343
Rockingham ware, 286, 293, 297, 299, 300, 303, 309, 310
Roundabout chairs, 331

Salem, Mass., 20 et seq.
Samplers, 379
Sanderson, Robert, 233
Secretaries, 335
Sgraffito pottery, 277 et seq.
Sideboards, 58, 337
Silversmiths, American, 191 et seq., 219 et seq., 232 et seq.
Silverware, American, 12, 219 et seq.
Silverware, process of manufacture, 220
Silverware, Revere, 214 et seq.
Slat-back chairs, 326, 331, 342
Slip-decorated pottery, 8, 277 et seq.
Sofas, Phyfe, 61
Spoons, silver, 224
Stiegel, Baron, 162 et seq.
Stove-plates, 167, 370

Taber, Elnathan, 157
Tables, 61, 331, 337
Teapots, silver, 231
Terry, Eli, 68 et seq.
Textile arts, 375
Thomas, Seth, 118 et seq.
Tucker, William Ellis, 290

United States Pottery, 300

Values:
  American glassware, 369
  American pewter, 257
  American silverware, 251
  Bennington ware, 315 et seq.
  clocks, 129, 158
  Phyfe furniture, 68
  Revere silver, 218
  Stiegel glass, 187
  Windsor chairs, 99 et seq.
Van Dyke, Peter, 245
Vernon, Samuel, 246

Washington eagle furniture, 338
Washington medallion, 36
Washington Square, Salem, 36
Weaving, 376
Willard, Aaron, 152 et seq.
Willard, Benjamin, 134
Willard, Simon, 135 et seq.
Windsor chairs, 79 et seq.
Winslow, Edward, 237
Winthrop, bust of Gov., 39

Dyer, Walter A.
Early American craftsmen.
NK
806
D8

PEABODY INSTITUTE LIBRARY
Danvers — — Mass.